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GOVERNMENT DEPOSITS IN BANKS.

THE relations between the National Treasury and the banks have been a constantly recurring subject of scrutiny, criticism, and discussion ever since there has been a Treasury. They will doubtless continue to be, so long as the laws remain as they are; and there seems to be little likelihood of any change that will take the subject out of politics—for the outbreaks of criticism have been almost wholly due to partisan politics. The temptation to exploit for partisan ends any act which may benefit a bank, even though the act be required for the public welfare, is irresistible to many people. All parties have done it whenever they have had a chance.

It sounds well to say, that the Government should keep out of the money market, that it should not interfere with the natural movement of prices or intervene to rescue defeated speculators. But the Government, with its existing independent Treasury, is necessarily a factor in the money market. Its ordinary revenues are now nearly $50,000,000 per month; and the operations of any institution that may draw on the circulating medium of the country at that rate must be of great importance in the money market. The Treasury operations are so intimately and inevitably connected with the money market that a do-nothing, or "go-it-blind," management would sometimes involve the country in disaster. The most intelligent and skilful direction is required to keep them from disturbing the natural course of the market.

It matters not how people may disagree over other features of the

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money question, there is one point upon which they are of one mind, viz., that, given a certain volume of money, with business undertakings and calculations adjusted to that supply, a rapid and arbitrary contraction of the currency is to be avoided. Money is an instrument of commerce. Its office is to circulate through a community as a medium by which people may trade with each other. Modern industry is accustomed to its use; and producers expect to make their exchanges through its agency, instead of by barter. They make their engagements in terms of money; relying, as a matter of course, upon the usual supply being available. The actual volume of the currency is not primarily important, for if it bears the same relation to all products and services these will have correct relations to each other. But changes in the volume are very important.

There are only two movements by which the available stock in this country is liable to be reduced: (1) the export of gold; and (2) its flow into the Government vaults.

Everybody understands that gold exports reduce the supply of money in the country, and that a continued movement necessitates a reduction of loans, a general curtailment of credits, and a check to business expansion. The outflow of gold, however, can usually be approximately estimated in advance; and, furthermore, it can be checked, if it has serious results; for, if money becomes tight, inducements may be offered that will stop the shipments. The flow of money into the Government vaults takes it out of use even more completely than its removal from the country; for in the latter case its influence abroad will have a reflex effect here, while if locked up in the Treasury vaults it becomes dead and useless capital. The movement into the Treasury is more threatening for another reason, namely, that no one can tell how long it may continue. When the pressure of hard times becomes sufficiently widespread over the country to compel general retrenchment in living expenses, the revenues will, of course, decline, and Treasury absorption cease; but that is after the mischief has been done. If, therefore, it is to the disadvantage of the country to have its money stock depleted by export, it is yet more to its disadvantage to have useless hoards accumulate in the Treasury.

The Government's receipts in January of this year exceeded its disbursements by the great sum of $8,823,068. If this surplus were not diverted back into the channels of commerce, by the discretion of the Secretary of the Treasury, it would be locked up in the vaults of the Treasury. This would mean a contraction of the currency at the

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rate of $100,000,000 per annum. Supposing a Secretary of the Treasury had it in his power to cause such contraction, by other means, what would be said of him if he did it? How the critics of the present Secretary would assail him if he were causing such contraction instead of preventing it! The contraction of the greenback currency inaugurated by Secretary McCulloch at the close of the war was at the rate of only $4,000,000 per month; but a cry of protest was raised against it which Congress made effective by legislation. The very people who are most ready to find fault with the efforts of a Secretary to avoid an automatic contraction of the circulating medium through surplus revenues are at all other times most alert and vigorous in demanding an "adequate volume of money."

There are but two remedies against the movement of the currency into the Treasury: (1) To take up Government indebtedness; and (2) to keep the surplus in banks authorized to be made depositories. If the Government has indebtedness payable at will, the first course is always followed. If it has no indebtedness payable by its terms and its efforts to buy bonds in the market are defeated by advancing prices, there is no alternative but to divert its receipts into the depositories. And whether the Secretary of the Treasury at such a time happens to be a Republican, a Democrat, or a Populist, he will certainly take that action.

The practice is represented as advantageous only to bankers, and as adopted solely to give them the use of public money. Indeed, to hear some of the comments made upon the policy of depositing Government funds in banks, one would suppose that it was an unusual and extraordinary act, and presumably an indefensible one. On the contrary, the practice of keeping money in idle hoards is, in these modern times, the unusual one. Individuals, corporations, school districts, municipalities, counties, states, and all associations of men, public and private, ordinarily, and almost universally, keep their moneys in banks. If all the states of the Union and all municipalities and local governments were to adopt the plan of keeping their receipts locked up in their own vaults until disbursed in the regular order of expenditures, not only would the loss to the country, by reason of idle capital, be enormous, but the interference with business calculations and operations, by reason of the uneven supply of money in the market, would be most serious.

The Independent Treasury, with its own vaults, was the outcome of Andrew Jackson's successful war on the Bank of the United States,

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and the subsequent collapse, in the crash of 1837, of the state banks, to which the deposits had been removed. When Jackson was inaugurated as President the Government funds were kept in the Bank of the United States, as the moneys of all European governments are now kept in semi-official banks. Under such a system the Government receipts are at no time withdrawn from the channels of circulation. Its receipts and disbursements meet and offset each other in the bank; and whatever surplus there may be remains there, available for business use.

Jackson asserted that the bank was using its power in politics, that its management was unsafe; and he determined to remove the public moneys. The forced contraction of loans which followed illustrates the evil inseparable from any sudden withdrawal or displacement of an accustomed supply of money; and the popular denunciation of Jackson's "pet banks" shows that he had to take his full share of the kind of criticism since familiar.

The accounts we have of those exciting times are interesting reading. Carl Schurz, in his "Life of Henry Clay," says:

"Taney forthwith ordered the removal of the deposits from the Bank of the United States; that is to say, the public funds then in the bank were to be drawn out as the Government required them, and no new deposits to be made in that institution. The new deposits were to be distributed among a certain number of selected state banks, which became known as the 'pet banks.' The amount of Government money at that time in the United States Bank, which was to be gradually drawn out and not to be replaced by new Government deposits, was $9,891,000. The bank resolved to curtail its loans to the extent of nearly $7,000,000, which sum had been the average of Government deposits for several years. The money market became stringent. Many failures occurred. The general feeling in business circles approached a panic. The whole country was in a state of excitement."

Bolles' "Financial History" says:

"The sensation produced by this extraordinary act in commercial, financial, and business circles in every part of the United States was unprecedented. The banks everywhere, but especially in commercial cities, were compelled to call in their loans, and curtail their circulation; trade and commerce became embarrassed; distrust and uncertainty prevailed, putting a stop to enterprise; almost every product was reduced in value and was unsalable; manufactures were checked, laborers thrown out of employment, failures and bankruptcies were of daily occurrence, and general financial distress pervaded the country."

Again:

"When the deposits were removed from the United States Bank the Secretary of the Treasury placed them in state banks, which were called 'pet banks.' These in-

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stitutions were directed by the Secretary of the Treasury to make liberal discounts in order to relieve the stringency caused by the new policy of curtailing discounts, which the Bank of the United States was obliged to adopt."

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The following paragraphs from the "National Intelligencer" illustrate the kind of criticism that Jackson was subjected to at this time:

"It is known (for it has been boasted of) that the Treasury Department has lent the public money by $500,000 at a time, in addition to the public deposits, to some of these *pet banks*. It is not known, generally, but it is a fact, that the Government, through the agency of one branch of it, has been borrowing *its own money* from the pet banks, and paying interest for it out of the public chest without authority to either in law or gospel. All this is well known to the Kitchen Cabinet, and they dare not deny it." (December 2, 1833.)

"What we have said and what Mr. Kendall dare not deny is that the Executive through one of its Departments is *borrowing the public money* at interest, from banks in which Mr. Kendall caused it to be deposited, and to which with his privity if not his advice (besides the deposits) the public money has been *unlawfully lent*, by $500,000 at a time; that both the borrowing and the paying interest are without any authority in law." (December 4, 1833.)

And the following extracts from speeches by Mr. Chilton, of Kentucky, and Mr. Gordon, of Virginia, in the House of Representatives, are samples of the assaults made upon the President in Congress. Mr. Gordon's flamboyant appeal for a larger "divy" on the strength of Virginia's deserts is quite familiar in style.

"Mr. Chilton: It is vain, it is preposterous, for gentlemen to tell me that either the throne, or the power behind the throne, is at all concerned for the existence of bank influence; they are concerned for the *direction* which is to be given to that influence. They had sooner see the country beset by 500 'pet banks' and have them continually worshipping before the throne and shouting 'hosannas' to him that sits therein and to the 'heir apparent' than to tolerate the existence of one bank."

"Mr. Gordon: Sir, while the great State of New York, so justly styled the Empire State, in addition to all her other advantages natural and political, has her banking capital increased by the accession of more than $13,000,000, by a single move of the executive arm, Virginia, the Old Dominion, receives from the same arrangement a little more than $200,000 in gross revenue. Ay, sir, that ancient commonwealth, that has borne the battle and the breeze, which in all emergencies of this republic, if not foremost, has ever been found in the front rank of its defence, in this distribution of the loaves and fishes puts into her coffers $200,000, while the great State of New York, with her army of representatives on this floor and all her preponderating weight in the councils of the nation, receives the modest and inconsequential sum of $13,000,000."

Schurz, in his account of the great contest, says:

"The very business distress, which at one time seemed to become so dangerous to Jackson, was at last made to tell against the bank. The great mass of mankind can

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easily be induced to believe evil of a powerful moneyed institution. It was not difficult, therefore, to spread the impression that the whole calamity had really been inflicted upon the country by the bank, the heartless monopoly, which without necessity curtailed its loans, pinched all business interests, and ruined merchants, manufacturers, and laborers, in order to bring an enormous pressure upon the President and Congress for the purpose of extorting from them the restoration of the deposits and the grant of a new charter. A monopoly so malicious and tyrannical must, of course, be in the highest degree dangerous to the public welfare and to popular liberty; it had to be put down, and there was nobody to put it down save the old hero; he was willing, and it was for this that the 'minions of the money power,' the 'slaves of the monster monopoly,' the 'subjects of the bank' in the Senate, were prosecuting him."

The panic of 1837 found the funds of the Government scattered in state banks, without security, or with inadequate security; and it suffered considerable loss. President Van Buren recommended that the Government cut loose from banks entirely, receive nothing but coin in payment of its dues, and keep that coin in vaults of its own until ready to disburse it. The followers of Jackson admitted that the use of state banks had been unsatisfactory, but they were unwilling to go back to a national bank. Security was the principal consideration urged for making another change. Daniel Webster, opposing it in the Senate, said:

"The very first provision of the bill is in keeping with its general objects and general character. It abandons all the sentiments of civilized mankind on the subject of credit and confidence, and carries us back to the Dark Ages. The first that we hear is of safes and vaults and cells and cloisters. From an intellectual it goes back to a physical age. From commerce and credit it returns to hoarding and hiding; from confidence and trust it retreats to bolts and bars, to locks with double keys, and to pains and penalties for touching hidden treasure. It is a law for the times of the feudal system; or a law for the heads and governors of the piratical states of Barbary. It is a measure fit for the times when there is no security in law, no value in commerce, no active industry among mankind. Here it is altogether out of time and out of place."

The proposition carried in 1840 was repealed a year later when the Whigs came into power, and again became a law under the administration of James K. Polk, in 1846. The act provided for the keeping of all public moneys in the Treasury, sub-treasuries, and mints. All collectors of revenue, postmasters, and public officers of whatsoever character were required to "keep safely, without loaning, using, depositing in banks, or exchanging for other funds than as allowed by this act, all the public money collected by them till the same is ordered by the proper department or officer to be transferred or paid out." With some modifications, the most important of which is the one

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authorizing all national banks to be made depositories and financial agents of the Government, the act of 1846 still stands.

In the early years of the Independent Treasury the Government balances were small; but the opponents of the system were soon able to point to its disturbing influence. On October 24, 1848, Webster discussed it at length in a speech delivered in Faneuil Hall. He said in part:

"In the first place, gentlemen, as to this constitutional sub-treasury, I look upon it as one of the strangest fantasies, as one of the greatest deceptions, and as one of the least plausible political delusions ever produced by party power and party management. Is there a civilized and commercial country in the world that knows any such thing as locking up in chests and boxes, under bolts and bars, the public Treasury? . .

"I have been at some pains to investigate the matter, and I will state the results as I have learned them. The truth is this: when money is plenty, the sub-treasury is only a ludicrous, bungling, and annoying thing, forcing men of business to move about bags and kegs of specie, when the business would be just as well done by the passing of bank notes. When money is plenty, it is only expensive, bungling, useless, annoying, and ridiculous, but the moment that by the exportation of specie, or whatever other cause, money becomes scarce, and the exigencies of the business community begin to press, then it is not merely a harmless and ludicrous engine; it then becomes a means of torture and distress, because its inevitable effect, when money is scarce, is to make it scarcer, and when it is difficult to be had, to increase that difficulty.

"I find that on the 25th of August last, the commercial banks in the city of New York had in their vaults $5,800,000 in coin. That was the basis upon which they made their issues for the accommodation of the mercantile world. The sub-treasury had at that time in its vaults, in the same city, $1,400,000. In the course of events, within one month, that relation was greatly changed; for on the 29th of September, the banks had but $4,600,000, while the sub-treasury had increased its amount to $2,400,000. Thus, in a few days more than a month, the banks parted with $1,200,000 of specie, and the sub-treasury obtained the additional sum of $1,000,000. This change in the relation between the amounts of money in these respective depositories at once created a great scarcity of money. . . All practical men understand this. If a bank loses a certain quantity of specie, it must curtail its discounts, not to the same extent, but to three or four times that extent. . . This very operation, then, led to the necessary contraction of $3,500,000 or $4,000,000 in the commercial business of the city of New York. Now this demand of the sub-treasury could be made in one day, and when made in one day or in one week, it must be answered in one day or in one week. But then no banks could make the curtailment in one day or in one week or one month, to such an extent, without greatly distressing the community."

The prosperous years of the early fifties gave increased revenues to the Treasury; but the surplus was used in paying off a debt. The Secretary of the Treasury at that time, the Hon. James Guthrie, belonged to the party which had established the Independent Treasury, and he was himself an advocate of it. In his report for the fiscal year

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ended June 30, 1856, however, he called attention to the harm that results from a continued drain of money into the Treasury. He said:

"The Independent Treasury, however, may exercise a fatal control over the currency, the banks, and the trade of the country, and will do so whenever the revenue shall greatly exceed the expenditures. There has been expended since the 4th of March, 1853, more than $45,525,000 in the redemption of the public debt. This debt has been presented, from time to time, as the money accumulated in the national Treasury, and caused stringency in the money market. If there had been no public debt, and no means of disbursing this large sum, and again giving it to the channels of commerce, the accumulated sum would have acted fatally on the banks and on trade. The only remedy would have been a reduction of the revenue, there being no demand and no reason for increased expenditure."

From 1856 to the breaking out of the War the Treasury was not troubled by surplus revenues. But when, in 1861, the Government faced the problem of raising large sums by loans, the necessity of some modification of the Treasury Act was recognized; and the statute of August 5, 1861, contains the following provision:

"Sec. 6. AND BE IT FURTHER ENACTED, That the provisions of the act entitled, 'An act to provide for the better organization of the Treasury, and for the collection, safe-keeping, transfer, and disbursements of the public revenue,' passed August six, eighteen hundred and forty-six, be and the same are hereby suspended, so far as to allow the Secretary of the Treasury to deposit any of the moneys obtained on any of the loans now authorized by law, to the credit of the Treasurer of the United States, in such solvent specie-paying banks as he may select; and the said moneys, so deposited, may be withdrawn from such deposit for deposit with the regular authorized depositories, or for the payment of public dues, or paid in redemption of the notes authorized to be issued under this act or the act to which this is supplementary, payable on demand as may seem expedient to, or be directed by, the Secretary of the Treasury."

The New York banks, which made three loans of $50,000,000 each to Secretary Chase, in 1861, urged him not to remove any part of the proceeds to the Treasury vaults, but to make his current disbursements after the manner of their private customers, by checks on them, permitting them to pay the checks in whatever manner the holders might designate. They were confident that if the disbursements were made in this manner, the checks being deposited as usual with banks in different parts of the country, and passed through the clearing houses by the ordinary course, there would be only a light drain on their coin resources; and by selling the bonds they acquired and turning over their capital rapidly they could continue to make loans for an indefinite period on a coin basis. Secretary Chase was not willing to adopt the plan proposed by the banks; and the amounts subscribed by them were paid into the Treasury in instalments, and disbursed by it. Mr.

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George S. Coe, who, at that time, was President of the American Exchange Bank, and prominent in the negotiations between the banks and Secretary Chase, says, in his "Financial History of the War":

"To draw from the banks in coin the large sums involved in these loans, and to transfer them to the Treasury, thence to be widely scattered over the country at a moment when war had excited fear and distrust, was to be pulling out continually the foundations upon which the whole structure rested. And inasmuch as this money was loaned to the Government, and was in no sense a trust reposed in the banks, there appeared to them no reason why it should not be drawn by checks in favor of Government contractors and creditors who would require to exchange them for other values in commerce and trade through the process of the clearing house. . .

"The banks began their work, paying into the Treasury in coin one hundred and fifty millions in sums at the rate of about five millions, at intervals of six days. Even with all these unfavorable circumstances surrounding them, it was an encouraging fact, observed by those who were anxiously watching the practical operations of the great and novel experiment, that, while the circulating notes in the country were restricted, the disbursements of the Government for the war were so rapid, and the consequent internal trade movement was so intense, that the coin paid out upon each instalment of the loan came back to the banks, through the community, in about one week; the natural effect of this general commercial activity upon the circulating medium being simply to quicken its flow."

The associated banks of Philadelphia and Boston were coöperating with the banks of New York. The latter supplied over $80,000,000 of the $150,000,000 in coin turned into the Treasury; and yet, after completing the third loan, they found that they had lost only $7,400,000 of their coin reserves.

Soon, however, the paper currency issued by the Treasury began to crowd on the banks and to interfere with their receipts of coin. The banks could not continue to lend coin to the Government unless they received coin from the public. Mr. Coe says:

"But at this time the demand notes were paid out freely by the Treasury, and began to appear as a cause of embarrassment among the banks which were pressed to receive them on deposit; and while they could not decline them without diminishing public confidence in the Government credit, they could not give them currency without impairing their own specie strength. In fact, the notes became at once a substitute for coin withdrawn from circulation, and their emission expressed a purpose of resorting to Government paper issues to carry on the war. So soon as these notes thus appeared, the reflux of coin to the banks at once sensibly diminished. During three weeks from the 7th of December, the reserves of the banks in New York fell to $29,357,712—a loss of thirteen millions within that short period; and on the 28th of December, after conference with the Secretary, in which he still adhered to the views before expressed, it was decided as expedient for the banks to suspend specie payments."

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It has been believed by many able financiers that if the Secretary of the Treasury had followed the advice of these practical bankers—who were familiar with the economy afforded by the use of drafts, and with the facilities of clearing houses—instead of attempting to collect the proceeds of his loans in coin, transfer it to the Treasury, and thence bodily over the country, to make his disbursements, creating an extraordinary demand for actual cash, the suspension of specie payments might have been avoided, the cost of the war greatly curtailed, and the bonded debt held at much lower figures.

The National Bank Act passed in 1864 provided for the use of any bank in the system as a depository or financial agent of the Treasury; and thus a means has ever since been available by which the Secretary of the Treasury has been enabled to so dispose of the receipts as to avoid unfavorable, disquieting effects upon commercial interests.

The provision is as follows:

"All national banking associations, designated for that purpose by the Secretary of the Treasury, shall be depositories of public money, except receipts from customs, under such regulations as may be prescribed by the Secretary; and they may also be employed as financial agents of the Government; and they shall perform all such reasonable duties, as depositories of public moneys and financial agents of the Government, as may be required of them. The Secretary of the Treasury shall require the associations thus designated to give satisfactory security, by the deposit of United States bonds and otherwise, for the safe-keeping and prompt payment of the public money deposited with them, and for the faithful performance of their duties as financial agents of the Government. And every association so designated as receiver or depository of the public money shall take and receive at par all of the national currency bills, by whatever association issued, which have been paid into the Government for internal revenue, or for loans or stocks."

Customs receipts were excepted because they were collected in gold, which at that time was at a premium, and which the Treasury desired to hold to meet the interest on the public debt.

In his "Recollections" the Hon. John Sherman, reviewing the steps to the resumption of specie payments, says:

"A question arose whether the Secretary of the Treasury had the power to designate national banks as public depositories of the proceeds of bonds sold under the resumption and refunding acts. The object to be gained by this designation was to prevent the withdrawal of coin from circulation, and the undue accumulation of coin in the Treasury of the United States. If the exchange of one bond by another could be directly effected through the banks without the payment of coin, it would facilitate the process of refunding.

"I submitted this inquiry to Attorney-General Devens, and on the 30th of August, 1877, he stated his opinion and closed as follows:

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"'In answer to your inquiry, I have, therefore, the honor to say that the Secretary of the Treasury, if he deems it expedient as a matter of administrative policy, may sell bonds under the act known as the "refunding" and "resumption" acts, depositing the amounts received therefrom with such public depositories as he may select under the National Bank Act, taking such security as is required by the statutes.'"

Secretary Sherman also used the banks freely throughout his refunding operations in 1879; his deposits at the end of May of that year reaching $279,544,645. To have drawn such an amount from the channels of trade and locked it up idle in the Government's vaults would have been wholly impracticable. To have attempted it would have defeated his refunding operations. But he was accused by ignorant and partisan critics of pursuing this policy for the sole purpose of giving profits to the banks.

In 1882, Secretary Folger found himself confronted with a surplus, and discussed it at length in his report for that year. Among other things, he said:

"What now perplexes the Secretary is not wherefrom he may get revenue and enough for the pressing needs of the Government, but whereby he shall turn back into the flow of business, the more than enough for those needs that has been drawn from the people.

"There are now in the Treasury unused assets to a large amount, and the daily receipts into the Treasury from customs and internal revenue taxation are about a million and a quarter.

"From the inequality between daily large receipts and comparatively small daily disbursements, there comes an evil effect upon the business of the country. The collections by Government are taken out of the money market in sums and at dates which have little or no agreement with the natural movement of money, and are returned to it with the same inadaptation to commercial and financial requirements. Occasionally the large disbursements of the Government have created a plethora of money; more frequently its large and continued withdrawals of money have caused such a scarcity of floating capital as to check the proper movement of legitimate business. It is not only that the amount in the Treasury is so much kept from the use of the community; the fact becomes an incentive and an aid to men who for their own ends conspire to keep from that use other large sums. We have believed that the laws of the state against primogeniture, the entail of estates and the accumulation of personal property, stood in the way of heaping up wealth in single hands, and gathering in single hands the power over others that great wealth gives. But so it is, that to-day there are men so rich that by conspiring together they can at will put and hold hand on near as much money as Government can lay hand to, save by the use of its credit. The power thus had is used from time to time. It results that violent and sudden contractions and expansions afflict the business community, and the Government is an unwilling aider and abettor therein. It has come about that the Treasury Department is looked to as a great, if not chief, cause of recurring stringencies, and the Treasury is called to for relief. Every Secretary of the Treasury for years past has had it brought clearly to his mind, and official expedients have been used to remedy the evil."

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He discussed the remedies within the power of a Secretary of the Treasury; pointing out that bond purchases would only temporarily avail, because the price would be so enhanced as to render further purchases "impracticable within reasonable bounds." He suggested a larger use of depository banks, but urged as the permanent remedy a reduction of taxation.

Secretary Fairchild in his report for 1887 discussed the surplus revenues which then confronted the Treasury. He stated:

"If we take into the Treasury large amounts of these circulating media in excess of what we pay out, there will soon not be enough in the hands of the people for the purposes of business; serious derangement and disaster must follow, and a portion of labor must cease until the very evils which this wrong condition creates shall have worked a temporary cure by so diminishing the consumption of food, clothing, fuel, and luxuries, by the taxation of which the revenues of the Government are raised, that taxes do not exceed the expenditures of Government."

He largely increased the deposits in banks; and the administration was sharply criticised by the Republican opposition for "favors" to the banks.

Following Fairchild, and aware of the attacks by his own party upon the previous administration, Secretary Windom adopted the policy of buying bonds more freely, while Congress proceeded by liberal appropriations and tariff revision to relieve the Treasury from the embarrassment of a surplus. The troubles of the last administration were of another kind. A surplus in the ordinary Treasury operations did not appear again until within the present fiscal year.

Under this administration many things have occurred, which, under unskilful management, might have caused the Treasury to become a disturbing factor in business circles. Among these may be mentioned, first, the settlement of the Pacific Railroad indebtedness, amounting to $58,448,223.75—all received between November 26, 1897, and January 6, 1898; next, the Spanish War loan of $200,000,000; and, finally, under the stimulus of good times, the ordinary revenues began largely to exceed the current disbursements.

Secretary Gage is fully justified in commenting upon the financing of the war loan, in his recent letter to Congress, as follows:

"It will be readily recognized by every one that the absorption by the Government of a sum so large as $200,000,000 within the space of a few weeks could not fail to disturb most seriously the general business of the country. In fact, it is not saying too much to allege, that were the Government to draw into the Treasury $200,000,000 within a brief period of time, the financial disaster and ruin which would ensue would

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be appalling. The obligation to avoid such unhappy conditions is one of which the Secretary of the Treasury is deeply sensible, and he feels with some measure of just pride that the financing of the war loan of 1898 was accomplished without the slightest interruption to that revival of commerce and the industries of the country which has made the present a period of unexampled prosperity."

Since June 1, 1898, the receipts of the Treasury, including proceeds of bonds, have amounted to about $1,100,000,000. By the use of the depositories the Secretary has so disposed of this enormous sum as to receive and disburse it with very slight variations in the amount actually in the Treasury vaults, and with imperceptible effect upon the money markets of the country. The actual cash in the Treasury vaults has been as follows:

1898.	
July	$232,601,739 13
October	304,550,685 89
1899.	
January	282,086,984 43
April	275,986,434 22
July	273,859,780 70
October	283,497,897 49
1900.	
January	273,159,422 86

Beginning with the month of August last the ordinary revenues have constantly exceeded the disbursements; the surplus for the month of December, 1899, being $7,603,544.91, and for January, 1900, nearly $9,000,000. As there is every probability of a continued surplus for an indefinite period, it is apparent that the condition would threaten serious derangement in financial circles, if no method of diverting this surplus from the Treasury vaults existed. Particularly has this been true of recent months, when the war in South Africa—by cutting off a supply of gold which the business world had adjusted itself to receive, at the same time causing heavy expenditures by the British Government in Africa, all occurring when business undertakings throughout the world have been much extended—has led to a situation of unusual stringency in all money centres of Europe, and forced a gold movement from New York.

Secretary Gage first treated the situation with offers to prepay interest, next with offers to buy bonds, and then by diverting the internal revenue receipts into new depositories. Formal announcement was made of his purpose to take the latter step, and all national banks

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were invited to participate by giving the required security. The responding banks were supplied in the order of application, and the applicants for smaller amounts first.

The length of this review forbids the use of space to discuss a revision of the laws governing the Treasury. Obviously, it would be desirable to secure such change of methods as would certainly prevent the Treasury from being, as Webster called it, a "bungling, annoying" factor in the business community, or "an instrument of torture and distress," and at the same time provide such definite rules for its management as would relieve the Secretary of the Treasury from the necessity of doing something that experience has shown cannot be done without subjecting him to unmerited criticism.

GEORGE E. ROBERTS.

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OUR MOHAMMEDAN WARDS.

SHORTLY after the recent unpleasantness between the Turkish Government and its Armenian subjects an Armenian gentleman wished to do something or go somewhere, but the police objected. Action of any kind is apt to confuse the police in critical times, and they much prefer that people should do nothing and go nowhere. Feeling the decision to be unreasonable in this case, the Armenian gentleman appealed for help to a Turkish friend in high official position. The Pasha, laughing, replied :

"I must tell you a little story. A certain man once asked an alchemist to give him a means of turning lead into gold. The alchemist named his price, which was paid. Then he gave the man a curious-looking powder, of which he was to sprinkle a little upon the melted lead in the crucible, while reciting a prescribed formula of words. 'But,' said the alchemist, 'when you recite the charm be sure you do not think of the tail of a fox, for that will spoil everything.'

"The man thought this caution rather strange, but he went home with his philter, and set himself to make some gold without delay. When the lead was melted he began to add the powder and to recite the charm. But just then he happened to think, 'What made that fellow imagine that I would ever think of the tail of a fox?' And then he cursed himself for an ass ; for the result was what the alchemist had said ; his lead was still lead ! Again and again the man tried the recipe ; but when all was ready, and he began to recite the charm, the question of the fox's tail always came into his mind, to spoil the transmutation into gold. I, myself, have no doubt that your request is quite reasonable. But the Armenian revolutionists have once suggested to us an idea which is like the idea suggested by the alchemist to the poor fellow who wished to declare a dividend on his lead. It is useless for me to try to help you with the police. They cannot forget the fox's tail."

Two years ago if a prophet had foretold that the peculiarities of the people of the Philippine Islands, of all people in the world, would influence the history and the policy of the United States, and even in some degree the qualities of our people, our answer would have been like that of the captain at the elbow of the King at Samaria : "If the Lord would make windows in heaven, might this thing be?" Yet when Admiral Dewey surprised the world and poor Montojo by daring to sail into Manila Bay, without delay, upon a certain May morning, his decision to perform a perfectly clear and simple duty set in

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motion a current of destiny which is sweeping us into novel experiences, new questions of policy, and unexpected duties.

We are a straightforward, plain-speaking people. We believe that we are of practical tendency, and not without a certain keenness of intellect. We hope that we are honest, and we know that we mean well. We expect other people to take us at this valuation, and hitherto we have not been seriously disappointed. But when the thrilling act of our Admiral flung the people of the Philippines under our tutelage, and when we supposed that the people of those islands would quickly find our instruction changing their lead into gold, we met disappointment. The Filipinos are going to force us to prove our qualities before they will accept them at a just valuation. Their minds are preoccupied by something beyond control.

This is particularly true of the Mohammedans who have so unexpectedly come into relations with America. The difficulty of dealing with these people is everywhere admitted. But the aim of this article is to aid in making that difficulty yet more clear. The Sultan of Sulu and his retainers in the various islands are going to require of us administrative abilities whose elements we must measure in advance, if we would not have bloody catastrophe lurk in each chapter of the future history of the occupation of Jolo.

The political history of the Spanish occupation of the Philippine Islands during 300 years is hardly more than a record of the incidents and consequences of continuous war with these Mohammedan islanders. Only within a decade or so have tolerably peaceful relations with them been established. We inherit from Spain sovereignty over the Sulu Islands, and over Mohammedan tribes in several other islands. But let us not forget that, for reasons which will later appear, we also inherit in the minds of these Mohammedans the place which the Spaniards have made for themselves as representative Christians through 300 years of almost uninterrupted fighting. Any preoccupation of mind of this nature must sway the acts of these people, notwithstanding our expectation of being taken by them for what we really are.

But there is a separate obstacle to easy relations of mutual confidence with these people. Mohammedans differ from the rest of mankind even in regions inhabited by wild tribes alone. A long and somewhat intimate acquaintance has given me admiration and respect for many Mohammedans as friends. Many of their finest qualities may be traced to the teachings of their religion. But dealings with

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Mohammedans sooner or later bring one into contact with their essential peculiarity. They cannot avoid regarding others from a religious standpoint; and they cannot set aside permanently the fact that God has commanded them to subjugate or exterminate all who refuse to believe in Mohammed. This Divine command shapes their conduct toward aliens, even when they themselves would like to forget it. It classes all of alien faith as Blasphemers; and this fact once being fixed, inquiry as to minor detail is needless in their eyes. A Blasphemer (kiafir or giaour) is a Blasphemer. Wherefore ask whether he be American or Spaniard?[1] It leads also to endless confusion in the use of words of ethical importance. Not only does "peace" mean something different to the Mussulman from what it means to the other party to a reconciliation, as will be seen below, but such words as "honesty," "kindness," "pity," and "piety," do not, in the mind of the Mohammedan, have the sense which the Christian gives them.

Sultan Haroun al Rashid of Sulu seems to have liberal views. Apparently he likes the Americans with whom he has had dealings. Perhaps he is as honest and magnanimous as his great namesake of Bagdad. Yet we cannot forget that for purely selfish reasons Haroun of Bagdad killed his best friend, the Vezir Jaffer. And the crime neither disturbed his own conscience nor stained his repute with the people for justice and piety. The Moro Sultan has the same standards of right and wrong, if not the same vast power, as the Caliph of the eighth century. For moral conduct has small room for change among Mohammedans, because the "Thus saith the Lord" of their law-book applies to acts so much more frequently than to principles. A better understanding of doctrine is contrary to the whole spirit of the system. And so, whatever their personal geniality or amiability of disposition in dealings with aliens, the Divine command comes into the minds of Mohammedans, at the very moment of fruition, like the alchemist's suggestion of the fox's tail, to spoil the charm which promised to bring forth a shining virtue.

The full importance of this curious trait can only be gauged by gaining the Mohammedan point of view, as found in any compend of the Holy Law now in use in Mohammedan countries. Only by actual study of the books can one get an idea of the deadly earnestness of such expositions of the Divine Will. Yet these books to-day form the

[1] A proverbial expression of Mohammedans is, "Filth is filth; ask no farther." "And as to the infidels, let them be deemed of kin the one to the other." Koran, chapt. 8.

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foundation of theological and legal education as well as of aspiration in the hearts of the common people in all of those countries.[1] Space will not permit the quotation of more than a few essentials from the chapter on the treatment of aliens in the Multeka.[2] This chapter begins with a definition of the Holy War, or Jihad, as follows :

"The invitation to accept the true faith, and the making of war to the death upon all who refuse to accept it, is called Jihad. This is a permanent duty, which rests upon all Mussulmans. It is performed for all, however, if a sufficient number engage in it. First the Holy Prophet was instructed by the Most High to persuade men by promise of forgiveness to turn from their ways. He was next ordered to use any suitable means of controversy and persuasion. Finally he was directed to begin to fight before the Blasphemers (kiafirs) should do so, and thus the direction to fight against Blasphemers at all times and in all places descended to him. While some are engaged in the Jihad all others are freed from responsibility to do so. But if all abandon it, then all alike are sinners through such neglect. At the same time it is not an absolute and unconditional duty, for being war it means the destruction of that which God has built up ; and the Holy Prophet has said, cursed be he who destroys what the Lord has built and man is the building of the Lord. The duty rests upon the condition that the war be undertaken for the exaltation of the word of God, for the glorifying of religion, and for the suppression of depravity and sedition. The Jihad is not a duty to minor children nor to women, nor to slaves. But if the enemy attack, it becomes a duty to all, without conditions. If the enemy is winning the day, women, without permission of their husbands, and servants, without permission of their masters, take part in the battle.

"When the Blasphemers have been brought under siege we first invite them to accept the faith ; for the Holy Prophet did not begin to fight and kill before he had invited the enemy to accept the faith. If they accept and become Mussulmans, then all is well. If they will not accept the faith, we next invite them to become tribute-payers, if they are of a class that may be admitted under tribute. And it is forbidden to kill any person whom the invitation has not reached, without first renewing the invitation to accept the faith. To repeat the invitation to those who have certainly heard it already is merely an excess of precaution, for there is no obligation to repeat the invitation to any. If they refuse to accept the faith, and also refuse to become tribute-payers, then, asking the aid of the Most High God, we direct our missiles upon them. For thus the Holy Prophet directed his missiles upon Taif. We also burn and flood and destroy their fields, because the Holy Prophet used fire to burn a certain place, and turned the waters upon it, and cut down its trees, and spoiled its wheat fields.

[1] Abridged compends of the holy law, as used in the courts of India, exist in English. D'Ohsson, in his "Tableau de l'Empire Ottoman," gives a translation into French of a large part of the Multeka ul Ibhar (the Junction of the Seas of Wisdom). This is the standard compend of the Hanefi school of the Sunnite branch of Islam. It notes points of divergence of other schools on details, and is accepted in principle by all orthodox Mohammedans.

[2] The translation is from the Turkish version (Government Printing Office, Constantinople, 1874). The passages quoted are in the words of the text, although much detail is omitted.

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"Every city or land in the territory of the Blasphemers, which the Imam (leader or ruler) takes by force of arms, is divided among the Mussulmans, after the fifth has been taken out. For after the conquest of Khayber the Holy Prophet divided it among the Mussulmans. Or, if the Imam choose, he retains the population in their place, and lays tribute upon them and a tribute-tax upon their lands. For so the Caliph Omer, on whom be peace, when Sawad had conquered Irak, left the people in their lands and houses, and imposed tribute upon them and tribute-tax upon their houses and lands. If the Imam so orders, prisoners taken before the conquest was completed are killed. For thus the Holy Prophet killed the Beni Kariza. If the Imam prefer, such prisoners are made slaves; or, if he choose, they may be left free as tribute-payers to the Mussulmans. Their becoming Mussulmans does not hinder their being slaves, since they did not become Mussulmans before they were taken.

"Any Blasphemer who becomes a Mussulman before he is taken saves his own life, and his young children, and all property which he has in his hand, and any property which he has committed in trust to a Mussulman. But his grown sons, and his wife, and his unborn child, and his servant, and his property in the hands of a Blasphemer, whether in trust or stolen from him, all these are booty for division. The enemy becomes booty for division as soon as taken. And whatever is in the hand of the enemy is booty for division, for the hand of the enemy is not a hand to be respected. Beasts which cannot easily be taken back to Mussulman territory are killed, and their carcasses burned with fire. Arms which cannot be carried into Mussulman territory are burned with fire, and those which cannot be burned with fire are buried, so that the enemy may not be able to find them.

"As to the method of division, the Imam, obeying the command of the Most High God, takes out one-fifth of the booty, and then he divides the rest among the warriors. A footman gets one share and a horse two shares; but no man has a right to claim a share for more than one horse. There is no share for a slave or a child or a woman, for these are not warriors. There is no share for the tribute-paying subject; for war against Blasphemers is worship of God, and the tribute-payer who is a Blasphemer cannot worship God. But, if the Imam sees fit some small thing from the booty may be given to the woman or the tribute-paying subject who has rendered important aid in the fight."

The obligation is clear which compels every Mohammedan to regard and treat non-Mohammedans as enemies. Yet absolute power is confided to the Imam to decide when policy requires war to cease. This liberty given to the Ruler to suspend for a time the prosecution of war, and to make peace for the advantage of the Mohammedan state, is of great importance. It saves the dignity of the law during the present period of commercial relations between Muslim countries and the Christian nations. The section of this law which relates to the purchase of peace is of special interest in the present discussion, because the subsidy paid to the Sultan of Sulu is regarded by Mohammedan casuists as of this nature.

The phrases of the law are as follows upon this point:

"If there is need of money upon our side, it is lawful to accept money paid for the sake of having peace. The money so received is like a tribute, and the fifth is to

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be taken out and the rest divided ; for it has been obtained in war by the power of the army. It is not lawful to pay money to the Blasphemers for the sake of peace, unless there is danger of extermination. For Mussulmans to be deprived by the hands of Blasphemers of that which belongs to them brings dishonor upon religion ; and that is forbidden by the Divine word.

"Horses, swords, or other arms must not be sold to Blasphemers, even after the conclusion of peace ; because the treaty is always subject to abrogation, and war is predetermined to begin on the abrogation of the treaty.

"If one person among the Blasphemers is guilty of perfidy in violation of treaty slaughter smites him alone. But if all agree to the act of perfidy, or if their king has authorized it, there is no reason to send warning before beginning to slaughter them, for the violation of treaty was from their side."

It should be noted that wild tribes, like our Moro friends, may easily regard the act of a single man as an act of perfidy, which his friends may defend as being no such thing. In that case slaughter may be the response. This is the history of many of the English border troubles in India. But in all this grim exposition of the will of God toward those who do not accept Mohammedanism, a humanity appears which adds to the force of the impression of conscientiousness produced by reading it. It also convinces the adherents of the law that Divine mercy shaped its provisions. In view of the method and the logic of their law, it is not fair to stigmatize Mohammedans as merely bloodthirsty wretches when they put the law into execution. The demands of the law for humanity and justice are illustrated by the following paragraph :

"In dealing with Blasphemers, treachery, the breaking of covenant, robbery, and the cutting off of noses and ears and other members are forbidden. The killing of the women and the incapable is also forbidden. But if any of this incapable class are able to aid in war by giving advice or by giving of their wealth, or if one of this class is a king, all such are to be killed. The Holy Prophet once killed a man who was 120 years old, because he was still capable as an adviser."

The law continues through page after page of minute detail in regard to the regulation of all possible relations of Mohammedans to aliens at home, or residing by permission in Muslim lands, or subject as tribute-payers to Mussulman authority. Throughout its cold logical reasoning or its illustrative digressions, it fortifies every conclusion by quoting the word of God in the Koran, or the comments or practices of the Prophet, and the consensus of expert commentators of old. The principle that the non-Mohammedan is an enemy, to be subjugated or killed for the glory of God at the earliest convenient moment, is the axiom of faith which underlies the whole chapter. This

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axiom is held in abeyance wherever policy requires it, as at present in Turkey, Persia, Egypt, Morocco, Algiers, and Afghanistan. But it must not be forgotten that, whereas in a Christian country a long-continued peace gives grounds for the fostering of sincere friendship, in the Mohammedan nation which is party to such a peace the fact that the non-Mohammedan is an enemy is never suffered to drop out of mind.

Hence, in such a country there are always some ardent zealots for the glory of God earnestly longing to see the law put into active operation. Policy is the only reason for delaying the consummation, and zealots are not always far-sighted enough to understand policy. So we have many examples of the execution of the holy law on the appeal of some "mad Mullah," like him of the Pathan rising of 1897, on the frontiers of India, or like the Tuareg disturbers of the comfort of the French in Algeria, or as in the Indian mutiny of 1857, or in the Turkish massacres of 1895, or in the wild extravagances of the dervishes of the Sudan, whose last pitiful group of leaders but recently died in the name of the Almighty and All-compassionate One rather than dishonor religion by submission to Lord Kitchener. Where the active execution of the law is officially ordered, as in the formal declaration of war upon a Christian nation, it is used at its full value to fire the ardor of the troops. This was done by Turkish officials during the war against Greece over the Cretan question.

This law explains the wide difference between the accounts of travellers respecting the character of Mohammedan peoples. One will describe them as fierce and bloody bandits. Another visiting the same place says they are lamb-like in the innocence of their good will. When the first visited the place circumstances made the practice of the law proper ; but when the second went there some change of circumstances made suspension of the operation of the law more favorable to the Mohammedan interest. The law also emphasizes the reasons of the marvellous success of Mohammedan arms in past history. The reserve of a purpose of renewed war in signing a peace gives immense advantage over any nation which cannot maintain for years friendly relations with deliberate purpose to find thereby a suitable opportunity to attack and exterminate at a few hours' notice.

Furthermore, the rock-like unchangeableness of a law of God, the hazy notions which exist in Christian lands as to the details of this law, the suddenness of the change from seeming intimacy of friendship to uncompromising hostility, the insatiable thirst for booty, the classing

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of the wives and daughters of an enemy as mere booty for division, and the rigid principle of destroying what cannot be used or taken away are all mighty instruments for crushing resistance. The most inhuman of non-Mohammedan Governments, lacking the stimulus of such a law, would hardly remember, in the hour of victory, to retaliate upon conquered Muslims literally in kind; and so the blow of the Muslim would always be more telling than that of his enemy. The root and basis of the old Mussulman success in war has thus been, in the widest sense, his Divine commission to add land to land, that he may be alone in the earth.

The object of thus insisting on the peculiarities of the Muslim beliefs and practices respecting aliens is simply to urge the necessity of bearing them in mind in dealing with the Moros. Otherwise, we shall be greatly surprised when our officers first come in contact—as they surely will if they rely on their own good intentions—with the obstacles which this law offers to permanent peace in the Sulu Islands. Nevertheless, much can be said, and is said, in the direction of quieting distrust by assurances that this old law is practically a dead letter. To value such assurances rightly we have only to mingle with the people of any Mohammedan country. The holy law acts in two ways upon such people in a time of general peace:

First, it prevents, as has already been hinted, any amalgamation of interests between Muslim and non-Muslim; keeping the Muslim populace in such a condition of feeling toward unbelievers that they are always cordially ready to respond to appeals for the execution of the holy law. The principle of perpetual hostility to unbelievers permeates the whole population of a Mohammedan country. Babies, almost before they are weaned, lisp the word "Blasphemer" on sight of a foreigner. Children cry it after the traveller in the street. Women drop it from their lattices in their cross-street comments on the dress fashions of the passing crowd. In private conversation between Mussulmans it is the usual term by which Christians are designated; and one constantly meets illustrations of the effect of this habit in dealings with Mohammedans.

At a post-office in Turkey, shortly after the establishment of the international Postal Union, I presented a "Century Magazine" to be sent to another point in the Turkish Empire. The clerk demanded seventy-five cents instead of the eight cents which the law allowed. Appeal was made to the postmaster in his private office. He was a pleasant old man, but was dominated by the legal idea of the treat-

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ment due a misbeliever. He said, "You are quite right in saying that periodicals go at newspaper rates, and that under that rule you may pay only eight cents for that magazine. But that rule was not made for this country. If one of our people wants to send such a big thing through the mails he has to get a book and send it, for we have no periodicals of that size; and the postage on a book of that weight is seventy-five cents. That is what you must pay, for it is not meet that you should send printed matter of that weight for eight cents when good Mussulmans have to pay seventy-five." This seemed to be final. And the force of this illustration of the scope of inborn religious hostility was not at all weakened when, just outside the door, another clerk said to me, "Don't mind him; he is an ass. Give me your paper, and I will send it off when he is not looking!"

The second way in which this law acts in time of peace is in limiting national aims and policies. A passing glance at the administrative system of a Mohammedan country is often misleading, because Christians are employed in official position; sometimes being given titles and rank and decorations, and, what is more to the purpose, salaries of considerable importance. But on closer inspection it will be found that such non-Mohammedans are still treated as a class apart. They are treated with scant respect. They are not admitted to responsibility; because that would tend to overcome the principle of the holy law. They are assistants and counsellors, but not administrators; inspectors or general staff officers, but never commanders of troops. It may not be fair to say that mediæval ideas such as we find crystallized in this law really represent the point of view of the modern, educated Mohammedan statesman. But there are none such at present in the Sulu Islands. And where there are men of this liberal class in positions of power in Mohammedan countries nearer to European civilization, their impotence in great crises is a matter of history. They cannot punish crimes which are justified by the holy law, and they are often hurled from power solely for lack of enthusiasm for this law.

In 1876, a riot of Mohammedans occurred at Salonica, in Turkey. The Mohammedan populace imagined that their sacred rights over a woman had been trampled upon by a consul; and two or three consuls who had nothing to do with the case were killed by the mob. Under threats the Turkish Government arrested and executed, after enormous difficulties, the murderers of the consuls. But the minister who agreed to the execution was never forgiven, and the criminals were styled "martyrs" by all Mohammedan papers. To the Muslim their

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punishment was a crime. Current history offers abundant proof that in Mohammedan countries it is not the liberal and enlightened statesman, but the religious doctors of divinity—who have never read a book outside of the dreary wastes of their religious literature—that control, by preëminence of knowledge of the holy law, the ultimate policy of the Government. This law exalts that self-seeking which is common to all humanity as a bar to the highest development; it forms an essential portion of every course of Mohammedan education; it is inseparable from the mass of doctrine of which it forms a part, so that religious revival in Mohammedan countries is always synonymous with reassertion of these time-worn principles. Hence we must bear in mind, without malice or harsh language, but with ceaseless vigilance of prudence, that the Mohammedan who has to deal with aliens to-day cannot escape the control of this law, unless he has first escaped the domination of those ideals of the religious man which his ancestors built out of their hopes and ambitions.

This law then offers us a useful measure for our treaty with the Sulu Sultan and the friendliness of his chiefs toward our officers. The experience of the Spaniards in the Philippines is instructive. At the outset the Spaniards won the favor of the Sultan by aiding him to put down a rival. They thus obtained a treaty which gave them security, and, as they claim, some degree of sovereignty. But after the lapse of years a Spaniard in Mindanao made aggression upon a Mohammedan, and suffered the terrible reprisals which the holy law prescribes on violation of a treaty by a single man among the misbelievers. Spain deemed these reprisals the lawless acts of brigands, and sent a force to punish the guilty as outlaws. But to the Moros the resentment of Spain was wilful association in the unlawful act of the first aggressor. Then came the solemn application, on the part of the Mohammedans everywhere, of that section of the holy law which requires the slaughter, without warning, of misbelievers whose king authorizes infraction of a treaty of peace.

During 250 years after that incident at Mindanao a state of war existed between all the Moro tribes in the islands and the non-Mussulman Filipinos and their Spanish masters. We note that during this period the Moros proved themselves to be incorrigible pirates, and then we pass on to other matters. But the Moros were not pirates. Piracy implies lawlessness. The Mussulmans of Sulu, of Mindanao, of Palawan, and of Tawi Tawi were merely executing a carefully worded law of Divine origin. Their action might have been changed at any

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time by any who had knowledge of the terms of their law ; for there are many ways of making self-interest weigh on the side of peace. Possibly at the beginning a mere explanation of the misunderstanding respecting the legal quality of the origin of the turmoil might have sufficed. But it is probable that the Spaniards of the sixteenth century, who had carried the Holy Inquisition to the Philippines, followed principles of action toward Mohammedans which were not materially different from those obligatory upon Mohammedans ; for the Mohammedan law is, after all, a mere survival from the same Dark Ages that furnished the logical basis for the theory of the Inquisition.

Strong in the sense of right and duty the Moro tribes ravaged the coasts, and made the sailor's life in those waters a ceaseless terror. They killed or held for ransom hundreds of priests and officials, and carried off into slavery thousands of Filipinos, both men and women. They landed forces on various of the richer islands, and made the regulation offer : the acceptance of Islam, with participation in profits, or the payment of tribute, with protection from foray, or, as the alternative of these two, the death penalty. In the southern islands many became Mohammedans. Negros, Cebu, and a part of Panay submitted to tribute and received protection. Those who refused the two alternatives were killed ; and their wives, children, and other movable property were carried off for division according to the Divine rule : four-fifths to the soldiers and one-fifth to the Chief, with the understanding that two-thirds of the latter's portion would be assigned to permanent works of Godly benevolence. It can readily be seen that any who thought to dissuade the Sultan from such conduct, by appealing to his sense of equity or by pointing out the turpitude of these proceedings, wasted breath. Turpitude is not exhibited nor can equity be violated in actions which conform to an explicit command of the Most High.

At last, England began to thrash the Sulu Sea with round shot, and Spain also decided to put a sufficient naval force into those waters. Then the aspect of affairs changed. It was more advantageous for Islam that peace be arranged. The offer of Spain to subsidize the Sultan of Sulu, as England does her Indian tributaries, clinched the business. The holy law says that money given for the sake of peace may be accepted, for it is of the same nature as tribute. But it must be borne in mind that, although Spain called England and Germany to witness that the Sultan of Sulu acknowledged the sovereignty of Spain, the Sultan himself was in no position to bind his people by such

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an admission. The right of private judgment in matters of religion is not recognized among Mohammedans, except in the line of obedience to the written law. For obeying the law a man cannot be punished. So to this day individuals who feel their hearts oppressed by the immunity enjoyed by misbelievers in those regions every now and then take up the waging of holy war as a private duty ; and Spain has had to do a good deal of bombarding of coasts, and of driving inhabitants back into the mountains, notwithstanding her treaties.

A few years ago, in a time of profound peace, Sultan Haroun al Rashid killed the Spanish Governor of Jolo with his own hand. We call it an act of perfidy. But it was not perfidy. Spain had promised to pay the Sultan so much a year, but had reserved no right to demand money from the Mussulman state. Yet the Spanish Governor, seeing the quietness of the Moros, and feeling strong in the Spanish right of sovereignty, issued orders for the payment of regular taxes by the Moros. The holy law says that only in danger of imminent extermination may Mussulmans pay money to the "enemy" for the sake of peace. Moreover, to the Moros the Governor seemed to have violated the treaty by demanding payment of the tax. And the law says that if the Blasphemers violate a treaty they may be slaughtered without warning. Accordingly the Sultan without warning walked up to the Spaniard and cut him down, while his retainers did the same by the astounded soldiers of the garrison. Then they pillaged and burnt the place, in accord with the law, and went home with a clear conscience.

Such illustrations of the bearing of the Mohammedan law upon past history compel us to be circumspect in our relations with the Moros. We are accustomed to deal with men in whom conscience at least is on the side of what we deem good government. But in this case conscience, from our point of view, is all the other way, and moreover cannot be weaned from its source of nourishment without violence to our rule of respect for the religious liberty of all men. Moros may be ignorant and imperfect Mohammedans. But, the more ignorant, the more certainly will they be under the control of their Panditas or doctors of the holy law. Such men cannot fail to do as they have done in the past in urging the people to live up to the privileges of their religious belief. Furthermore, the attention called to these people by the fact of the transfer of their destinies to the care of the United States will insure to them the advice of more devoted Mohammedans elsewhere. For this is the age of Pan-Islamic revival ; and already lineal descendants of the Prophet Mohammed have cast

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their lot among the people of these islands, being honored by the people under the name of "the holy" (sherifs).

One of the strangest features of the growth of the "Question of the Philippines" since the battle of Manila Bay is the persistence of the appeal to the sense of duty. If Moros lived in the Sulu Islands alone they might be cast off to shift for themselves; a strong naval force being assigned to the work of preventing their forays, as the Spaniards finally did, by sinking at sight every unauthorized Moro boat which leaves the shore. But the scattered Moro tribes claimed as subjects by the Sultan of Sulu live in Mindanao and other islands by the side of non-Mohammedan tribes, some of which are Christian. If our forces were now to be withdrawn from the Philippines, Mohammedans would be at work devastating the fairest of the islands, in the name of the Lord, just so soon as they could find arms and ammunition for the purpose. To defend themselves the Christian Filipinos would vainly seek power, except in stooping to precise imitation of Mohammedan methods of war. This fact fixes the duty of the United States to control the Moros. We may not cause, much less may we invite, the outbreak of a war so beastly and so ruinous to all concerned. We cannot escape responsibility for the control of these people.

An understanding of the elements of this problem forces upon our notice two or three conclusions:

1. It must be decided at once, before the Moros have had time to feel that they have taken our measure, whether the policy of the United States toward them is to be war or peace. If a policy of war is to be followed, war must be made in a way that the Moros can understand. Gen. Weyler's experience in this line proves this. He prepared a great campaign against the Moro tribes in Mindanao. The force which he took with him was so large that peace was clearly in the interest of the Mohammedans. Hence Gen. Weyler could find no one to fight; and even he was too tender-hearted to devastate peaceful villages. But his army was decimated by disease, and he withdrew it. Then the Mohammedan interest lay in the direction of war; and the raiding and pillaging went on almost as before. The model of a policy of war is offered by the Moros themselves, or by the Russians who had to deal with the Mohammedan tribes of Central Asia. It is to look at your enemy as untamable, to seize any trifling opportunity for the end in view, to have an overwhelming force, and then to strike without conscience; literally killing every living thing when the battle occurs, and destroying everything that cannot be carried away

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after the victory is won. The expense of such a policy will be great, the bloodshed terrible ; but a few successful encounters conducted on this principle will secure abject submission and peace for a generation.

2. If war of this class seems too dreadful for Christians to plan in cold blood, the policy of peace, too, should be made intelligible to the Moros. Peace can be had by following in the main the English model of policy toward Muslim tribes. The theory is clearly to show that peace is the interest of the Mohammedans, but to do this in milder ways than above suggested. The officers in contact with the Moros should study the Mohammedan law of conduct toward aliens ; so that they may know the meaning of, and the remedy for, difficulties which arise. Following the precept of the holy law itself they should see to it that modern arms and ammunition are not sold to the Moros. The Sultan should be warned that raids by any tribe will be punished by pitiless reprisals upon the district of their origin, but without detriment to friendly relations with himself, and without harm to Mohammedans of other districts. The threat should be made good by irresistible punitive expeditions swiftly following the offence.

The subsidy to the Sultan and his officers should be maintained. It may be unpleasant to learn that his ignorant people regard the subsidy as tribute paid to Islam by the Blasphemers of America. But a few thousand dollars paid to leading Moros is the cheapest means of insuring correct judgment on their part of the true direction of Mohammedan interests. Our own naval and military forces should be much larger than would suffice elsewhere ; and, at all points selected for permanent posts in Moro districts, they should be very much in evidence, and very wide awake to methods of defence against sudden attack. In a word, the success of this policy depends largely upon following the principle of a quaint Mohammedan proverb : "See that the post is strong to which your donkey is tied, and then go in peace, trusting in God for his safety."

3. Whichever policy is determined upon, it should be an axiom that our control of the Moros, at present, shall extend no farther than control of their relations with others. This includes, of course, the ending of slave-raids. Such raids belong to a state of war alone, according to the Mohammedan law ; and the capture of slaves is understood by themselves to be incompatible with peace. Mohammedan laws governing relations of believers with believers are carefully elaborated and fairly equitable. They are based on the principle of the brotherhood of all believers, upon consideration for the poor and the

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feeble, and upon retaliation in kind for offences. The Moro "sherifs," or judges, probably administer these laws with reasonable fairness. In any case, our undertaking is large enough if limited to controlling Moro relations with their non-Mohammedan neighbors. Until that is accomplished it would be unwise to attempt to reform what is unpleasing in their theories of life within their own tribes.

These three points roughly outline plain conditions of safe dealings with our Mohammedan wards, the Sultan of Sulu and his lively co-religionists. But another element of the question must be hastily indicated before closing this paper. My intercourse with believers in the Koran has convinced me that the Mohammedan is a reasonable being, notwithstanding his holy law of hostility to aliens. He is not psychologically different from other men. He is of like capacity with other men for the finer feelings. The Mohammedan holy law is perhaps most obnoxious to our interests in the barrier which it has raised, with deliberate purpose and forethought, against the possibility of acquaintance by Mohammedans with the ideas of the rest of the world's inhabitants. For the holy law carefully insures that non-Mohammedans shall present to the Mohammedan that side of character only which the heat of conflict evokes in the best of men. The ordinary Muslim, and especially so ignorant an ordinary Muslim as the Moro tribesman, really believes that the non-Muslim world thirsts for his blood; knowing neither righteousness, justice, nor mercy.

Therefore, the line of defence against dangers caused by the teachings of this law is the line of educating Mohammedans into that acquaintance with the sterling qualities of other men which the law dreads. This is not a theory, but a well-tested result of experience. Leaving out of the question the constitutionally predatory class whose representatives are found in every nation, and without detailing illustrations which prove the fact, it may be asserted that when a Mohammedan discovers in a non-Mohammedan friend a true man, sober, temperate, pure in morality, and just and chivalrous in the treatment of others, he is astounded beyond measure. But he at once concludes that his holy law is not intended to govern his relations with men of such angelic temperament. He, therefore, tends to become a sincere and trusty friend.

The fact that Mohammedans can be moved in any degree by contact with high, manly qualities is the one fact which relieves the dismal prospect opened up by a study of the existing ground-work for our future dealings with the Moros. It should be utilized to the ut-

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most. Officials who are to come in contact with these people should be carefully selected men, with definite instructions to study Mohammedan prejudices. All their acts should aim to conquer aversion deeply rooted in such prejudices. They should be scrupulous in personal habits, and careful in consideration for the rights of the Moros as men. Such small things should be borne in mind as the religious duty of Mohammedans to resent the most trivial attentions to their women, their religious hatred for hogs and those who have to do with swine, and their religious admiration for men who do not drink liquor. Scope should be prepared for such potent influence as could be exerted by the surgeon of a military post who would treat on certain fixed days patients from outside the lines. For there is hardly a limit to the gratitude of a Mohammedan who has been healed, or has seen his children healed, by the skill of a first-class physician.

Grant that the Moros are savages besides being Mohammedans. The process of educating them into friendliness by a thoroughly wise and peaceful policy will necessarily be long. But it will succeed, if at the same time we are careful to let the Moros see the mailed fist, because we never forget the "tail of the fox." HENRY O. DWIGHT.

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RIGHTS AND WRONGS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

THE whole civilized world is watching the position of affairs in South Africa, and anxiously awaiting the course of events, which cannot fail to be of international importance; affecting all classes of every community, especially in these United States of America. While the combatants are preparing for fresh efforts, it may be well for those who are precluded from partaking even in the preparations for the approaching struggle briefly to review the situation and the circumstances which have led up to it. It is surely due to each of the combatants that the American public should do deliberate justice to its cause; and, on our part, self-respect demands no less.

My information as to affairs in South Africa is not wholly derived from books or periodicals. In 1896 I spent several months in the Transvaal. Uitlander and Boer alike were kind to me. I studied grievances as an eyewitness, and saw how my friends fared in Pretoria gaol. I repeatedly heard the Boer side of disputed questions, as well as the other; and I discussed at length with President Krüger the franchise and other matters. For a specific purpose, I acquainted myself as far as I could with the conditions then prevailing and their causes, and have since kept myself fairly well informed of the course of events.

The history of the Boers during the past seventy years is one of the most romantic episodes among the chronicles of the past. The story has often been told, best of all by Mr. George McCall Theal, the authoritative and impartial historian of South Africa.

No one acquainted with South African affairs would now deny that between 1814 and 1836 the treatment which the colonists of Dutch descent at the Cape received at the hands of the British authorities was harsh and inexpedient. This was not the result of any deliberate intention to oppress the Boers, but arose from lack of due inquiry and consideration. The modern colonial policy of Great Britain had not then been developed, nor did the colonies of other nations afford her examples of greater liberality. Results, however, do not wait on motives. As a consequence of these conditions a large number of the Boers "trekked," or migrated, northward from the Cape

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of Good Hope into the wilderness, where they faced with admirable nerve the difficulties of existence in a region swarming with savage beasts "and savage men more murderous still than they." The advancing wave of Anglo-Saxon colonization repeatedly overtook the Cape Dutch in their retreat from the sphere of British influence, and brought about renewed treks, until the outposts of the Boers beyond the Vaal River were nearly exhausted by their efforts, their resources almost gone, and their coherence weakened by suffering. Confronted by an empty treasury and the hostility of powerful native tribes, a part of the Transvaal Boers inclined to abandon the struggle in 1877, and to seek protection under the British flag. The country was annexed by Sir Theophilus Shepstone, partly at the desire of some Boers, and partly on the plea that the weakness of the Transvaal Republic was a menace to British interests. Many of the Boers, however, and, as it turned out, a majority of them, were opposed to annexation. War, and the battle of Majuba Hill, followed. Peace was made in 1881 by British statesmen acting, as men usually do, from mixed motives, which, of late, have been much discussed. To me the central fact appears to have been that the Transvaal was supposed to be an absolutely worthless region, incapable of supporting a large population or a powerful community. To do much fighting for such a possession seemed to be a purposeless sacrifice of life; and, in this sense, Mr. Gladstone's cabinet was very properly "afraid" to continue the struggle. Had the Transvaal, in fact, been able to support only a sparse and needy pastoral population, few regrets would now be heard that Majuba remained unavenged. After all, vengeance for its own sake is neither a Christian policy nor an expedient one.

The Transvaal was reëstablished as a state by the Conventions of Pretoria and London, made respectively in 1881 and 1884. These documents have been reprinted in many works of late years, and are, therefore, readily accessible to the public. In 1885 gold was discovered at Johannesburg, and in 1887 production began; drawing to the country a large number of foreigners or Uitlanders, chiefly British. In 1896 the number of adult men among the Uitlanders considerably exceeded the adult male Boer population; but, so far as I have been able to ascertain, the total Boer population of the Transvaal has always greatly exceeded the total Uitlander population, which included relatively few women or children. At the beginning of 1896 the Uitlanders appear to have numbered about 75,000, and the Transvaal burghers, including their families, about 125,000.

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The Boers witnessed the growth of the foreign population with alarm and chagrin. They had made portentous sacrifices to escape from British rule, and now looked upon the immigration of gold-miners as no better than a peaceful invasion. The only way open to them to check the influx was to make residence in the Transvaal for a British subject as uncomfortable as possible; the only way to retain control of the government of the republic was to make the conditions of obtaining the franchise so onerous that few foreigners would submit to them; the only mitigating feature to the Boer mind of the presence of the miners was that they could be compelled to contribute to the state a vast revenue.

A man must be very hard of heart who does not sympathize in some measure with the Boers. Appreciation of their struggles is shown even by those who have most keenly felt the hardships to which the mining population has been subjected. Thus, Mr. Fitzpatrick, secretary and mouthpiece of the Reform Committee, wrote:

> "The story of the trekkers is one of surpassing interest, and must enlist for them the sympathy and the unbounded admiration of all. . . They fought, and worked, and starved, and died for their land of promise, where they might hope to be alone, like the simple people of their one Book; where they might never know the hated British rule; where they might never experience the forms and trammels, the restlessness and changes, the worries, the necessities or benefits, of progressing civilization."

Sympathy, however, is a very different matter from approval; and particularly in this case is it needful to examine both sides of the question, lest sentimentalism should supersede even-handed justice.

When Great Britain consented to the restoration of the internal independence of the Transvaal state, and later to the establishment of the South Africa Republic, conventions were drawn up which are hardly model state papers, and are not so specific as they should be concerning the rights of British subjects. It is there stipulated, however, that all persons who remained loyal to her Majesty during the late hostilities "will have full liberty to reside in the country, with the enjoyment of all civil rights, and protection for their persons and property." It is also stipulated that all persons conforming themselves to the laws of the South African Republic shall have full liberty to enter or reside in any part of the republic, to own property, carry on commerce, and be exempt from taxes other than those which are or may be imposed on citizens of the said republic. The spirit of the conventions was, clearly, that *bona fide*, white, permanent immigrants should have the same rights as the Boers.

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At one of the conferences preliminary to the signing of the Convention of 1881, Mr. Krüger emphatically stated, that there would be equal protection for everybody, British or Boer, and no difference in privileges so far as burgher rights were concerned, adding: "There may perhaps be some slight difference in the case of a young person who has just come into the country." Very possibly Mr. Krüger may have meant what he said four years before the discovery of gold on the Rand, and when he foresaw but little immigration, limited chiefly to cattle-breeders. It is certain, however, that the spirit of the Convention, as understood by the British, and as interpreted by himself, was not observed, and that every obstacle which the most petti-fogging interpretation of the letter of the Convention of 1884 would excuse was thrown in the way of the Uitlanders. The picture was not all black, indeed, as has sometimes been alleged; for, in spite of oppressive exactions, the best mines made enormous profits. And while the Uitlanders suffered much, many of them also grew very rich. The grievances of the Uitlanders have been dwelt upon at such length, and so many times, during the last few years, that it is needless to enumerate them here. Extremely heavy taxes were laid on such articles as the Boers did not consume; oppressive monopolies were granted to favorites of the state; public meetings were forbidden; freedom of the press was denied; education in English was substantially refused; the attainment of the franchise was made impracticable; and there were several other matters of complaint.

An Anglo-Saxon community could not be expected patiently to endure such conditions, least of all a community with the adventurous spirit of an Anglo-Saxon mining camp, where the proverbial *suaviter in modo* is held in no great estimation. The grievances were very real and very trying; their most irritating feature being that they were clearly needless, if not intentionally designed to be oppressive. Mining men do not shrink from hardships when they recognize them as unavoidable; but deliberate imposition is quite another matter. In North America, or Australia, or British South Africa, industry and citizenship are open to all white men, without any restriction as to nationality; and such a thing as discrimination against any white race is unknown. The Uitlanders in Johannesburg regarded themselves not as a necessary evil, but as the benefactors of the country, and the only people in it worthy of much consideration. From the point of view of industrial civilization they were entirely right, though the Boer, of course, thought differently. The Uitlanders endeavored to

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obtain reforms by argument and petitions, but in vain. Looking back to that time it would seem that the most politic course would have been to transfer the agitation from Pretoria to London. It is true that representations were fruitlessly made in London ; but persistent efforts must eventually have induced the Government to enforce equitable treatment of the Queen's subjects by the Transvaal. The right at that time was all on the side of the Uitlanders. These, however, were impatient of delay.

Then came the reform movement of the National Committee ; the arming of the Uitlanders ; and, in too close association with it, that monumental piece of folly and ridiculous fiasco, the Jameson Raid. The advantages of a just cause were for the time being thrown away. Great Britain and the Uitlanders were put upon the defensive ; race animosities were stimulated ; and the 125,000 Transvaal Boers, the 75,000 Orange Free State Boers, and the Cape Dutch, rather more numerous than those of the two Boer states, were drawn closer together. The Afrikander Bond, an association with the motto " Africa for the Afrikanders," *i.e.*, practically, for the Boers, had new life infused into it ; and the astuteness and determination displayed by President Krüger made him the natural leader of his race. The Transvaal, which had already been fairly well supplied with weapons, began arming to the teeth—a procedure for which the Raid gave an excuse ; the national idea grew apace ; and Mr. Krüger, if not more resolved, became more hopeful of forever excluding men of British blood from political rights or wider industrial privileges.

The British Government, at last thoroughly awakened, pressed for reforms, though negotiations were sadly hampered by the shadow of the Raid. For some time it was hoped that the Transvaal would listen to reason. A year after the Raid she would probably have been allowed to restrict the franchise closely to those who made evident their intention of casting in their lot permanently with the republic, and she might have assuaged the demand for the franchise by genuine reforms. But no. President Krüger was determined against compromise, or any measure which might stimulate immigration. He also seems to have convinced himself of the possibility of turning back the tide of Anglo-Saxon colonization. Three years ago such an idea appeared to be confined to a few Boers, if indeed it existed at all. On a number of occasions, in 1896, Boers confided to me that a war with England must end in the destruction of the republic, but that if the attempt were made to annex the Transvaal, they intended to sell their

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lives as dearly as they could. With the accumulation of munitions of war, and the increase of race feeling in South Africa, Mr. Krüger's ambition grew, or, at least, came to seem more feasible, until he fairly challenged the British Government to enforce its demands for equitable treatment of its subjects. In October last it became evident that Great Britain had made up her mind to obtain justice for the Uitlanders, even at the cost of war. Thereupon, Mr. Krüger, acting wisely from a military point of view, seized the initiative, declared war himself, and selected his own positions with great judgment.

It never seemed to me doubtful that the Boers would be good men at reconnaissance work, good judges of positions, and stubborn fighters; but they have also displayed tactical ability and generalship which have astonished most observers. They have shown qualities so admirable as to prove that their destruction would involve the loss to the world of a valuable strain.

The foregoing sketch of the conditions which have led up to the South African war is intended to be impartial, and as just to each side as a mere summary can be made. It remains to be considered which of the combatants is in the right and deserves American sympathy.

The Boers are fighting for race domination, for the enthrallment of industry, for the maintenance of a social condition which is mere semi-civilization. The English are fighting to obtain for British subjects in the Transvaal no greater rights than all white foreigners enjoy in every portion of the British Empire and in the United States: the right of franchise on reasonable terms, reasonable industrial conditions, and liberty to be civilized after the manner of Anglo-Saxons.

There are some who think that the Boer community has a right to complete control of its own territory, and to be as uncivilized or as tyrannical as it may choose. But this is an error. There is an international right corresponding to the right of eminent domain. All rights are enjoyed either by nations or by individuals on the tacit understanding that they be exercised with due consideration for the rights of neighbors and of the greater public. The Boers are attempting to arrest the march of civilization, to hamper industry, and to retard education. England is fighting the battle of civilization. A state may not oppress the subjects of other powers, nor commit injustices under the shelter of pettifogging interpretations of treaties or conventions. This it may not do because there is no international police court which will uphold legal quibbles and evasions. England

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is fighting for an honest interpretation of the Convention which established the South African Republic.

No one on earth values freedom more than the Boers ; but, much like the early New England Puritans, they regard it as a treasure to be protected jealously lest some one else should share it. They want a monopoly of the rights of free men. They are fighting for freedom to deny freedom to others, to establish a corruption of blood which shall exclude the Anglo-Saxon race from what the Boers consider their heritage.

In spite of their picturesque mediævalism, and the gallantry of their attack on a vast empire, the Boers are wrong. The British are fighting for ideas most dear to the American heart—ideas for which under analogous conditions the United States would fly to arms. They deserve our moral support and cordial good wishes. At present they wish nothing more. It is, however, in my opinion, a great mistake to suppose that they will, or should, make peace with the Boers until they can dictate terms from Pretoria. Before that time comes we may have an opportunity of reciprocating the service the British Government rendered us not long ago. The end of it all is certain. The Boers will have greater freedom and better government than their own oligarchy has ever given them ; the rights of all men, white or black, will be better respected in South Africa than they have been heretofore ; the British Empire will be knit closer by the participation of the colonies in imperial affairs ; and the army will have undergone a valuable, though bitter and bloody, experience.

In my opinion Americans should desire, and a great proportion of Americans do desire, that this consummation should be reached speedily, with as little loss of life as practicable. GEORGE F. BECKER.

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ENGLISHMEN IN THE UNITED STATES.

LOYALTY TO THE OLD COUNTRY DEVELOPED RATHER THAN DIMINISHED BY ABSENCE FROM ITS SHORES.

LOYALTY on the part of Great Britain's sons in distant lands has played so remarkable a rôle in the war now in progress in South Africa that it may not be amiss to offer a few words of explanation concerning the position of the very large number of English people who make their home in the United States. Of all the foreign-born inhabitants of this country, they furnish in proportion the smallest number of applications to the courts for letters of naturalization. The Englishman, especially the Englishman of the better class, when he crosses the Atlantic, and settles in America, manifests an extraordinary reluctance to abjure his allegiance to the British Crown, and as a general rule refrains from taking any steps to become a citizen of the United States. In fact, he lives and dies in this country as a full-fledged Englishman; and it is only his children, born and educated on American soil, who grow up as citizens of the United States, and as champions of the Stars and Stripes.

At first sight it may appear ungracious, as well as ungrateful, that a foreigner should make his home in this country, enjoying its advantages, without applying for naturalization; and still an Englishman myself, although resident for some ten years in the United States, I have sometimes been called to account about the matter in a kindly and good-natured fashion by my many friends here. But I have noticed that Americans who take up their quarters in England are very chary about surrendering their rights of citizenship of the United States; and there is no doubt that the few who have done so have seriously lost rather than gained thereby in the eyes of the English people. The latter will always prefer a true blue American to one who turns his back, metaphorically speaking, upon Old Glory, and who spurns the inestimable privileges and prerogatives that are the birthright of every citizen of the United States. I cannot help thinking that people here must, on reflection, entertain much the same ideas with regard to those of my countrymen who are fortunate enough to

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make their homes in the United States, and that at heart they do not think the worse of us for declining to abandon our loyalty to our Queen and our allegiance to the Union Jack.

The majority of Americans in England are perfectly satisfied to be governed by English laws, and by English authorities, without any wish to interfere in their administration. It is the same with the English here in the United States. If we do not seek naturalization, if we remain true to the Old Flag, it is because we feel that we can do so without giving offence to our American friends, and, above all, without any conflict with the obligations which are imposed upon us by the hospitality which we enjoy here. We are not treated like Uitlanders, but with the same degree of cordiality and friendship that Americans invariably meet with in England.

There is so much sympathy between our two countries, so great an analogy between their institutions, the system of law and justice being almost identical, that it is possible for us Englishmen in America to remain loyal to our Queen, and to fulfil our duties of—well, let me call it—honorary citizens of the United States, at one and the same time. If we do not apply for naturalization, it is because we do not feel the need of franchise, and if we do not want the franchise, it is because we do not experience the necessity of having any voice in the government. The English in the Transvaal only asked to be allowed to participate in the administration of the republic by means of a parliamentary vote, because they considered that they were badly governed, and were consequently dissatisfied both with their own condition and with the authorities to whose rule they were subject. We Englishmen in America are perfectly satisfied with the system of government that we find in the United States, and are content to comply with all the laws and usages of the land, without desiring to modify them in any way. In fact, there is no reason why we should wish for any change. We have not the slightest objection to being governed by native-born American citizens; and as for those eminent American statesmen, legislators, judges, and bosses in general who are of Irish birth—well, we English have long been accustomed to be ruled by the Irish.

Many of England's greatest ministers, and certainly a number of her most famous soldiers and sailors, have been Irishmen. Our most persuasive and successful diplomats hail from the Emerald Isle; while in every British colony that I have visited, there has always been one or another of my Irish friends filling the position of governor, of colo-

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nial secretary—in one word, of boss of the place. From this it will be seen that there is everything to make Englishmen feel quite at home here, and delighted with their surroundings; and if our countrymen had only been one-hundredth part as kindly and, above all, as justly, treated in the Transvaal as we Englishmen are in the United States, there never would have been any war in South Africa.

By refraining from abjuring their allegiance to the British flag, and their loyalty to the Queen, the English people in the United States cannot be said to shirk or evade any obligations. We pay the same taxes and the same rates as if we were full-fledged citizens, and are content to forego any voice with regard to the expenditure of the revenue thus contributed. Perhaps this circumstance may be taken as an offset for our exemption from jury duty, which is about the only immunity that we enjoy. Nor can this even be regarded in the light of a privilege. In all civilized countries trial by jury, that is to say by one's peers, is looked upon as a highly prized prerogative of inestimable value. Does not the very fact, therefore, that we Englishmen here should ask for no representation in the jury box, and be perfectly satisfied to rely upon the spirit of justice and equity of our American fellow-citizens, constitute a token of confidence, and a tribute to their sense of honor, rather than any disposition on our part to shirk civic obligations?

It is easy to understand why immigrants hailing from other parts of the Old World should hasten to cut themselves adrift from the land of their birth, and seek to acquire American citizenship as soon as possible after landing on these shores. The difference is so vast between the institutions of the country which they have left behind and those in this Western Hemisphere, that they cannot but hail with delight the altered conditions of their existence, and be anxious to turn their back forever on the thraldom to which they had been subjected until the moment of their expatriation. For even in republican states, such as France and Switzerland, the freedom of the individual bears an entirely different interpretation from what it does here. There, liberty is more a figure of speech than anything else, and in every direction intellectual and material activity and enterprise are hampered by restrictions imposed by governments that are liberal only in name. For everything that one does it is necessary to obtain the permission of the authorities; while it is hardly possible to take a solitary step without finding that one has been guilty of infringing, if not some law, at any rate, a police regulation. It is easy to understand, therefore, that when

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an emigrant from Continental Europe lands in America he should become positively intoxicated by the new-fledged sense of freedom and absence from restriction which he for the first time experiences, and should lose no time in forswearing all allegiance to the land that he has left behind him.

With Englishmen it is different. As I have stated above, our institutions are almost identical with those of the United States. True, the American executive is a President, whereas the head of our government is a Queen. But it may be questioned whether the former does not possess a greater degree of personal authority, whether the sway that he administers is not more imperial in its character, than that of our Queen. Save for the fact that our executive is hereditary, and that of the United States electoral, I can see no difference. Things here are, in one word, so very much like those in England, that we Englishmen in the United States experience no necessity or wish to change our condition.

If anything could tend to make us feel more at home in America than is the case, thanks to this analogy of institutions, and to the spirit of kinsmanship, it is the universal respect, one might almost say veneration, with which our good old Queen is regarded throughout the length and breadth of the United States. We are thoroughly made to understand that nowhere out of England are Victoria's virtues as a woman and as a wise and sagacious administrator more keenly appreciated than among the English-speaking people in the Western Hemisphere. This is very grateful to the Englishman resident here, and tends still further to strengthen the ties that draw him toward his American fellow-citizens. For, while at home John Bull may occasionally grumble about this or that member of his reigning family, sometimes even about his Sovereign—it is a birthright of the Englishman to grumble—he ceases to do so the moment that the white cliffs of old England fade from his sight. I will not say that distance lends enchantment to the view. But there is no doubt that there is nothing which develops the loyalty of an Englishman to his Sovereign to such an extent as expatriation, and that there are no hearts that beat with more whole-souled and enthusiastic loyalty for their aged Queen than those of Englishmen across the seas, and who gaze at her, so to speak, from afar.

It is to this peculiarity that must be ascribed the manifestations of loyalty to the Queen which have taken place in Canada, in Australia, and even in South Africa, in connection with the Transvaal war.

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The Dominion of North America and the Australasian colonies are now represented on the scene of hostilities at the southern extremity of the Dark Continent by several thousand volunteers, mostly belonging to the well-to-do classes, and who have resigned comfortable positions in order to run the risk of war. It must be thoroughly understood that the Colonial Contingent is not recruited from men pressed by poverty or from the dregs of society. The men are in every case of good character and of settled circumstances. They offered themselves for service in South Africa, fully aware that the expedition would be no military picnic. The stubbornness and the marksmanship of the Boers are household words in Canada and in Australasia; and in order to understand the emotions which have roused radical and conservative governments in the colonies to offer contingents, and some of the finest manhood in England's trans-pontine dependencies to volunteer to face the Boer Mausers, it is necessary to appreciate that feeling of the true blue Englishman for the Old Country, and for his Queen, which can be expressed by no less a word than love. This is the sole sentiment which has actuated Victoria's subjects across the seas in the matter. Their action does not constitute any indorsement of the diplomacy which led to the war.

Englishmen abroad, no matter whether in British colonies or in the United States, have no voice in England's foreign policy. They do not enter into the question as to the rights and wrongs of the quarrels in which the Mother Country has become involved. The only feeling that prompts them to offer their services and their lives is loyalty to the Old Country and love for their aged Queen. So much for the Englishman in the Western Hemisphere and in the Antipodes.

Still more admirable is the loyalty of those Englishmen who, during the past quarter of a century or more, have taken up their residence in Natal. They, too, have had no share in bringing about the Transvaal war, and no say whatsoever in the negotiations which brought matters between the Boer Republics and the English Government to a climax. Moreover, they had a right to look to the Mother Country for adequate protection from the enemy in the event of the quarrel, which was none of theirs, developing into a full-fledged war. Blue books and other official data published since the inauguration of hostilities show clearly that the authorities in London had realized months and even years beforehand that war was inevitable, and that the policy which was being pursued, alike by the English and the Transvaal Governments, could have but one termination. Yet no step whatsoever

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was taken by the British authorities at home to prepare for the conflict, or to provide proper and adequate protection for the English residents of Natal, who, relying upon the English flag, had invested their labor and their capital under the shadow of its folds.

None of the strategic points on the frontier was put in a state of defence; and the consequence was, that on the declaration of war the home government found it necessary to withdraw, not merely troops, but even the very constabulary from the various towns and settlements in the northern portion of this up to that time thriving and prosperous colony. The English people of Natal were left entirely defenceless. It is on them that has fallen the first fury of the storm. They have had to face all the horrors of invasion. Their cattle and their possessions have been seized by the Boers, their farms have been looted, their families in many cases ill-treated, their towns shelled and stormed; and the possibility of the entire colony being overrun stares them in the face. Yet not a word of abuse against the Mother Country is heard. The people are calm and orderly, the press throughout the colony is dignified and sober, and the men capable of bearing arms have all responded nobly to the call—boys of sixteen marching with men of fifty to war, all alike eager to serve their Queen and the Old Country, without a single complaint for the ruin to which they have been subjected through the failure of the protection solemnly promised to them.

The loyalty of the English people in Natal to their native land and to their Sovereign, and their patient, trustful, unrecriminating attitude, are entirely in keeping with the feelings of every good Englishman parted by the ocean from the fatherland; and that this sentiment should be so strong and so steadfast in every English breast will certainly, when explained, as I have endeavored to explain it here, excite sympathy rather than ill-will on the part of our American cousins.

F. CUNLIFFE-OWEN.

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THE TRUE RELATION OF SCULPTURE TO ARCHITECTURE.

In the last quarter of a century there has been a remarkable and wonder-working development in the art of sculpture, and in its relation to civic and domestic architecture. This development showed itself first at the Centennial, and scored another tide-water mark at the World's Fair, which was a miracle, if ever a miracle was wrought on this earth. But we must remember the words of Lowell: miracles cannot be "encored." Never could we produce, even with the same incomparable enthusiasm, another "White City." Our next effort of this kind will have to be along different lines, and corresponding to new problems and aspirations. The World's Fair was the flower of its period; and though only a short time has elapsed since its close, we have already outlived it, and are now standing on more original ground, laying the foundation for a more truly national and representative school of Architecture and Sculpture. From that achievement we learned, above all else, of what can be accomplished when the sculptor and the architect walk hand in hand, in true sympathy.

In most of our attempts to relate sculpture to architecture, we find the connection between sculptor and architect cold and formal, if not positively distrustful. I can imagine some practical person asking how we are to develop an ideal relationship. It is coming about in the most natural way by means of gatherings, which give us a better understanding of the province of architect and sculptor—gatherings planned with care by the disinterested minds of thoughtful artists—and, more than all else, by means of the splendid system of art instruction in our public schools, and the decoration of the schoolroom with photographs of the great buildings of the world, which lead the child to learn unconsciously how beautiful a building is made by the addition of happily placed sculpture. It is coming about, too, strange as it may seem, by the larger knowledge and appreciation of nature and natural forms made possible by such men as Hamilton Gibson and George Inness, who died all too soon. We cannot be too thankful for such men as Gibson, Hunt, and Richardson, who have

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brought art from the chilly regions of Olympus to the warm cheerfulness of our hearthstones.

How strange is the transformation wrought by art! Give a man a small Tanagra figurine, or a relief by Donatello, and his room looks not large or fine enough to hold it. He begins to think of a more beautiful home, better ordered and more fit to contain such treasure. So he rebuilds his Parthenon, the better to hold and enshrine his Minerva. As this is true of the individual, so is it true of a city or a nation. When a patron buys a noble painting or statue in Europe, and brings it to his native town, preparations are at once made to build a suitable temple to contain it. When a great man dies, we honor his memory with a mausoleum or a statue. The signs of the times are hopeful. Never before in the history of the world did men give to art and education as they give to-day. You may remind me of Greece, but we learn that the rich men of Athens were compelled to give; otherwise, we might never have seen the delicate and beautiful choragic monument to Lysicrates. Let us all take hope for the future of American art in the opportunities before us for the union of beautiful sculpture with stately and enduring architecture.

Now for the kind of sculpture we are to create. What must it be to harmonize with the architecture of to-day? Let me say at once that unless the sculpture, the wall-spaces, and the niches or pedestals are in the architect's mind when he conceives and makes his original plans and sketches, it will be very difficult to find appropriate settings afterward, and the sculpture will appear as a patch on an old garment. For this reason our architects should study something of sculpture and the great monumental works, that sculpture may find a natural setting and place in the first concept or plan. Architecture without sculpture is like a library or a life that is all prose. Sculpture adds the necessary poetic element or note without which no building can endure as a work of fine art. No weight, or mass, or engineering skill and daring will atone for the lack of it. The sculpture then, first of all, must be structural—an integral part of the whole building, and so related to the whole that it cannot be omitted. Having decided upon or conceived the relation of the poetic note of the sculpture to the severe prose of the architecture, we must now decide what kind of sculpture will best express our ideas and embody our ideals.

To that end let us consider sculpture from the point of view of expression. If the building is a national one, we can readily appreciate that the sculpture must have a national character—such as the Dewey

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or Naval Arch, for instance, to name a memorial in which we are at present interested. Here any local hero with a sectional interest would be out of place : we must have our great naval heroes, and the reliefs and the groups must be of supreme importance. Absurd as it may seem, mistakes are often made at this very juncture, owing to a lack of culture and to the influence of the money-seeking politician. True sculptors often hesitate to bring their work into competition with the offerings of marble yards and granite quarries ; neither do they desire to have their work passed upon by those who are often wholly incapable of judging of sculpture. The admirable scheme of an art commission in Boston will, fortunately, in the future, save that city from more of such horrors as we have seen and yet see to our grief. Would that the commission might be able to extend its powers, and remove some of these blemishes ! Let us hope that the good example of Boston will be speedily followed by other cities, until to have the erection of public monuments uncontrolled by competent hands will be regarded as a mark of a lower civilization. We must have trained critics for our judges as well as trained sculptors to execute.

Having found subjects and themes adequate to express completely the idea to be conveyed so that he who runs may read, we must next consider the color element introduced by the material used, whether bronze or stone. Let us call this third consideration tonal. This consideration is worthy of our most careful thought. For instance, a dark relief on a light background acts like a spot or cavity ; weakening the effect of the mass, and destroying the balance and harmony of the whole. If one should lay down a law or a rule, it would be safe to say that dark colors should always be used underneath, and light colors above. A dark bronze statue on a light pedestal can never look well ; and for the reason we may look to nature, who invariably uses her dark tones close to the ground, grading her color until she reaches the white clouds, and sky. For the same reason, a dark relief should never be placed on the face of a pedestal. The dark effects can often be produced by polishing, if the stone is too light ; as, for instance, in Quincy granite. If an arch or a memorial is to be of marble, the bronze should have a green or golden tone ; but better still is it to carve the relief or group from the marble itself.

We have considered sculpture from the structural, the expressional, and the tonal points of view, but chiefly in connection with the architect's plan or conception. Let us now look at the sculptor's point of departure. The first question that the sculptor should consider is his

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background or pedestal, or both, and the space he has to fill, then the wall-space about his statue, the foil or background, which is to set forth and tell the plastic story. Especially must the height and perspective be considered; and this is the hour when sculptor and architect should be closeted together, to work out in peace the problem or plan. How many a good statue is ruined by a tasteless or an incongruous pedestal! A building may be belittled by a statue that is out of scale, having been studied merely in the flattering light of a studio. Let me say here a word about architectural sculpture, out-of-doors, and the advantage, which cannot be overestimated, of making preparatory models in staff, such as in the Dewey Arch, of all memorial work to be placed in the open.

A dangerous element is creeping into our memorial works. I refer to the tendency to isolate a relief, by placing it, as in the Shaw memorial at Boston, in a stone frame or setting, where one may walk about it. There are traditions in art which must be respected, and we cannot be satisfied with façades of men and women—for such is the impression created by relief-work when we walk about it and feel its thinness. A relief is a part of the whole, an illustration of the noble deeds of some hero or heroine, as much to-day as it was in Egypt or Greece.

So much for the practical relation of sculpture to architecture. Now for the ideal relationship; for sculpture will survive in our architecture in such measure only as poetry survives in our lives and hearts, and so far as the conditions of life produce heroes and poets. That is, we must consider the order of men who produce great art. What is great art? Let Ruskin answer you. "Good art," he says, "always consists of two things: first the observance of facts; secondly, the manifesting of human design and authority in the way that fact is told. Great and good art must unite the two; it cannot exist for a moment but in their unity. It consists of the two as essentially as water consists of oxygen and hydrogen, or marble of lime and carbonic acid." And this idea of great art implies, of course, the statement which he has elsewhere made, "that art is valuable only as it expresses the personality, activity, and living perception of a great human soul." And one must feel that this order of art, which scorns mere imitation and interprets nature, inspires and uplifts mankind.

I wish there were space to dwell upon the respective provinces of the sculptor and the architect, and to show their vital relationship and interdependence. Their relation in the great art epochs might be

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pointed out. For instance, it might be shown how, in the Gothic, these two arts are so wedded that it is difficult to tell where the one leaves off and the other begins, and, after the Gothic, in the period of the Renaissance, how sculpture became a mere result, and less dependent upon architecture. It is not difficult to establish the fact that sculpture has always been related in some way to architecture. Even familiar sculpture in the household should be considered in relation to the architecture and decoration of the room. It may be the white note in the scheme of color, or a lustrous note of bronze, effective, if properly used. One might also show how a picturesque element introduced into sculpture often confuses our appreciation of pure form, seriously interfering with the proper understanding of the relation of sculpture to architecture.

Let me go back of all this and show the relation of sculpture to the time. With us, curiously enough, it has outstripped the art of architecture, of which it is really the handmaiden. Let us discuss the two arts in their more comprehensive relation to life. And here I hope to make some vital suggestions; for without a knowledge of the present crisis, its problems and their great import, no man can build successfully or carve any statue of enduring worth. We come now to the order of life in the past which produced great art; and we shall see that, while we are dependent upon the great schools for our place in the history of art, there are certain laws which we must not violate, but which, alas, are violated every day, in this country. We must understand and interpret this epoch, which has no precedent in history, because the conditions of life have never been those which confront us to-day. I hope to show that we must think and live well before we can build or carve art products that will outlast ourselves. I might dwell upon the importance of exclusion, and upon the value of repetition of a sculpturesque note in the architectural plan, and I might show how much of our sculpture of to-day is out of tune with the architecture, and positively harmful to it. A stand must be made for style and for what it means in fine art.

Having dwelt on the interrelation of sculpture and architecture, I hope to show how in modern times architecture has become to a certain extent a foil to sculpture. One sometimes wonders if the sculptors and architects of to-day follow their calling for the glory of it, as Michelangelo did, or for the more material desire of gain. When we consider the history of the Renaissance, which Leighton well says begins with Petrarch and ends with Dante, we hear first of humanized

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art, when Science began to walk hand in hand with Nature, and men began to study the classic spirit. These men were great, first of all as men ; for they were men and they truly lived. They did not dally in the mere show of things—forms, and dress suits, and dinners, and clubs, and everything ruinous to that nobler life which is lived in peace and contemplation. There is a grave danger which threatens our art, and that is what Leighton calls "the arts of luxury more deadly than the arts of war," which, if I may be pardoned for saying it, killed him. We see it in the tendency to overload buildings with decorative sculpture or with mere decorative carving which has no especial meaning, and shows rather a desire to take the place of substantial construction, as a piece of bright or gaudy wall-paper will cover a defect in the wall.

We think of Babylon as the centre of that vast empire in that most fertile portion of the globe, a capital which eclipsed all others in brilliancy, with hanging gardens which were the wonder of the world. Babylon fell into oblivion so absolute that she did not even produce one artist or one architect to record and perpetuate her magnificent, mechanical art. Over it, as some poet writes, have fallen the silence of the desert and the glamour of eternal night. And this brings the thought particularly home to us, that our art is not sufficiently inevitable ; that is, we have not the great order of living which begets a great art, as naturally as the bud flowers into the rose. When Greece, after the age of Pericles, began to think more of results than of the desire to produce men, she lost her power not only to produce great men, but to appreciate the wonderful results that had been attained by them.

Therefore, it behooves us to remember, always, that life is greater than art. It was Thermopylæ that made Phidias ; and it is that order of independent living, the doing of one's whole duty with *naïve* simplicity, that must produce an art that will make us the rivals of Greece and Florence. The conditions of modern life seem to drive one into an order of living which keeps us always at hack work. We may, however, by uncompromising effort, change existing conditions, and raise life to that ideal plane which alone makes it worth the living. We must compel our world to accept our best. As soon as we begin to compromise with life we compromise with art. Is it not well, then, to consider the great ideas that underlie all great art? The artist is apt to condemn his public, because they will not take his art products, when he, himself, is at fault. We must not only cherish high

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ideals in the studio and the study ; but we must stand by these ideals in the street and at the club.

What, then, must a sculptor himself be, in his life and training, in order to do great and enduring work? Let us glance for a moment at the only people of the world who have done really great work in monumental sculpture—the Greeks. The French, even, are not excepted ; for, when all is known, they are, at their best, only clever, rarely great. The Athenian republic was not unlike our own in point of civilization and literary ability. But it was unlike our own in one vital respect. The artist was a rounded man, and not a one-sided creature. Why was Phidias great? Because of Pericles. Why was the age of Pericles great? Because of Phidias. The weakness is thus traced from the art to the artist, and, next, from the artist to his world, which will not recognize that essentially artistic work can only be done by a man so educated, environed, and manually trained as to conceive great thoughts and execute them. The artist should be able to compare notes with educated men in the different professions and arts, in order to obtain that friction necessary to a proper rounding of thought. Says Prof. Waldstein, in his Phidian essays :

"This grandeur of character in the work of Phidias is heightened and partly produced through the absence of all conscious striving and straining after effect, by means of the small tricks and byways of technical skill. It is their simplicity which makes or adds to their power ; yet all these qualities in the work cannot be immediately produced by one act of the will of an artist ; they are to be traced back to the same characteristics in the man, and such a man was Phidias, the offspring and typical representative of the age of Greek history most characterized by loftiness of feeling and directness of purpose."

In this regard we may learn something also from Meissonier, that master of technique, who exclaimed that the utmost skill in technique did not make an artist, that the artist was great or commonplace as his ideals were great or commonplace. One may talk forever about the proper relationship of life to art. Meissonier declares that it lies, not in the boundless field of speculative thought, but dwells within the heart, whence it must be drawn. These few words sum up all art. If we have no faith, we must give up all idea of producing great art, and undertake some simple business which we may realize and accomplish. If we do not live simply enough to believe that we can add something to the glory of the world, there is scarcely any reason for architecture, and none whatever for sculpture. If the natural world furnished types

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enough, and at hand, of special beauty and ideality, there would be no *raison d'être* for sculpture, and we could not accept Bacon's definition, that "art is man added to nature." Those who study this age with simplicity soon learn that there is an anxious desire to get at the truth of things, to know the character and count of a man, and his relations to all men.

This is one of the new problems we have to deal with in the world's history; for at no other time has man had so much interest in, and so much sympathy for, his fellow men. The feudal system, a trace of which is still extant in Europe, has almost no meaning for us. Now, this humanitarian idea has introduced an entirely new note in art, and one that must show with great effect upon architecture and sculpture. We may call it, perhaps, a note of sympathy, a larger understanding of man's relation to his fellow, a realization that every one, poor or rich, has the right to enjoy this world's beauty and to express as much of it as he feels in his own heart. This is an order of socialism in which we may indulge without fear. The reason for so much bad art to-day is not the lack of training, but the lack of education. Men are better trained than they were in the days of Rembrandt and Velasquez; but we have not yet an idea of what sympathetic education means. As Tennyson truly remarked in his last illness, "Education, as we understand it, would have ruined John Bright." We dally too much in the shade of the academy, and too little in the light of the man who created the institution. As we walk around these great cities of London and New York, we feel everywhere the desire on the part of the people for a higher order of living; and we ought to concern ourselves, as architects and sculptors, with the thought of embodying certain ideals in form which will respond to this human need, and which will express the unexpressed.

Look at the meaningless Gothic structures about our city, built by contractors who are thinking only of how many dollars they can make, and of what poor material they can use within the law. Often, too, they are designed by men who, after a year or two abroad, have forgotten to think along their own lines, or the lines of their people, and reproduce the exact external form of some structure, without in any way understanding the reason which gave the original the right to exist. The fact is, that the humanities are crying abroad to-day; and if we turn a deaf ear to them, we can no more create a great art than a Roman sculptor could have accomplished the work of Donatello or Buonarroti. There are, of course, theoretical conditions, scientific

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reasons, climatic considerations, which must determine, to a certain degree, the order of architecture for this latitude and longitude. A studio may be built of staff in the south of France, and last twenty years; whereas here it would go to pieces after exposure to one winter of storm and ice. Yet brick is as lasting with us as it was in Cuma 4,000 years ago; and we are now beginning to use it with the delicacy and refinement with which Peruzzi used it in Central Italy.

An element of tenderness, then, must be taken into account in modern art. It is an element the Anglo-Saxon is inclined to disregard or suppress. He must tone down his natural inclination to boorishness and brusqueness. In this we may learn from the Latins; but we should assimilate only what we need. We are apt to copy their vices and disregard their virtues. You will note this in the Anglo-Saxon in our own country. The Eastern man does not take proper cognizance of the great West; consequently, the Western man is often led to despise what seems to him the affectation and cold culture of his Atlantic brother. This late war has made us realize, perhaps, that we are a united people, mutually depending on each other. I may have dwelt too long on this theme, that life is greater than art; but it seems useless to create a fanciful structure upon an unstable base.

It may be well to consider for a moment the art of sculpture alone, independently of architecture, and then to return to their interdependence. It is interesting to note that Michelangelo declared, at the end of his long life, that if he had another life to live he would devote it to sculpture. Yet to him we owe the glories of St. Peter's; he gave himself to the architecture of his time. What a contribution! It is touching, and particularly interesting, when we consider this saying of the greatest spirit of the Renaissance, and remember that sculpture was the central art of Greece, and its chief glory. It is scarcely necessary to show the seriousness with which it was considered in relation to any art movement of the times. Without sculpture, architecture may have great dignity and impressiveness; but the impression will be merely that made upon us by the great sights in physical nature, stupendous, but unsatisfying. The spirit of man demands the reproduction of high types, which, like beacon lights, lift the soul beyond the storm and stress of living. A beautiful face or a noble statue is potent, because it gives a more direct and greater response to human need than does a vast cathedral. We pass into the cathedral occasionally; but with the former we live.

Nothing will ever satisfy man so much as the reproduction of the

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highest types of men. We see in such the realization of ideals we may have failed to reach, and to which we still aspire. It was this thought that made Heine pass Nôtre Dame and drag himself through the courts of the Louvre to the feet of the Venus of Milo. Such satisfaction is not found so much in that order of sculpture where human passion and frailty are depicted as where the triumph over human failure and suffering is shown. The fervid, restless carving (we must not call it sculpture) of the decadent school is absolutely of no use to us, and will be relegated by posterity to certain oblivion. We are drifting constantly back to the thought that art is dependent upon a great and simple order of living.

In the tendency to immortalize many of our national heroes, we find architecture becoming the handmaiden to sculpture ; that is, the pedestal and the setting for the statue are becoming of supreme importance. But here the same harmony must be observed, or the one ruins the other. Now is the time in this country, if ever, to give this subject our most earnest attention. Theoretically, we have not the conservative spirit of our ancestors on the continent, who hesitated to pull down a poor structure or a bad monument, because of some historical association. No nation ever had a greater opportunity ; no nation ever had brighter ideals to embody; and we may be sure that no nation ever gave birth in trials and tribulations to men who were more fitted and more ready to do noble work than the American people. It behooves us, then, to study this problem of the hour, and to consider not what the Greeks would do under the same circumstances, or what a Frenchman would do under circumstances akin to these ; but what *we* are to do *now*, under the present crisis, is to make a definite problem of the situation, and to resolve, as becomes men, to do our best, and to wait with patience upon the future.

Finally, we must lift art out of the hands of the mob and place it in the hands of the people, and such of the people who have their country's good at heart rather than their own personal aggrandizement. Let us erect what is fine or nothing ; and let us no more write "caricature" over the face of our fair land for coming generations to pull down or contemptuously ignore. WILLIAM ORDWAY PARTRIDGE.

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A CUSTOMS COURT.

THERE is an institution in New York City almost unknown to New Yorkers. It is clothed with extensive powers, and its acts are often of far-reaching importance to the importing trade, of which New York is so justly proud. This body is a tribunal for the settlement of all disputes arising under our tariff laws; but it labors under the unfortunate misnomer of The Board of United States General Appraisers. Although sitting at New York as the chief importing centre, it is, nevertheless, a national tribunal, having jurisdiction over the entire union, and a membership representing all sections of the country. It is now in the tenth year of its official existence. The purpose of this article is to explain, briefly, the causes which led to its creation, and the object which Congress sought to attain thereby, and also to suggest what further steps are requisite for a complete accomplishment of that object.

Ten years ago the conditions surrounding the collection of our customs revenue were almost chaotic; and the passage of the Customs Administrative Act, which called into existence the present Board of General Appraisers, was the corrective which Congress applied to an accumulation of abuses well-nigh intolerable. This act was so radical a change from all previous legislation, that, to appreciate thoroughly its significance, a glance is necessary at the old system which it swept away. Probably few persons outside the importing trade have any conception of the friction and irritation that constantly occur between the custom-house and the merchant. A tariff is far from being the simple intelligible instrument that many suppose it to be. The present Dingley Act covers sixty-three pages of the Statutes at Large, and contains 705 paragraphs. The so-called Wilson Act covered more than forty-three pages, and contained 690 paragraphs. It is not surprising, therefore, that disputes between collectors and importers are chronic and bitter, and that there annually arise from these litigations representing many hundreds of thousands of dollars.

When an importation of merchandise takes place, two questions of great importance may arise: (1) What is its value, if subject to

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an *ad valorem* duty? And (2) under which of the multitudinous and complex paragraphs of the tariff act should it be classified for duty?

The value of taxable property must be a subject of prime importance, so long as the amount of the tax depends directly on it. The ascertainment of the value is fraught with peculiar difficulties, being largely a matter of opinion; for there is seldom any reliable and easily accessible standard by which to judge. Our statutes, however, have endeavored to supply such a standard; declaring it to be the "actual market value or wholesale price of such merchandise at the period of exportation to the United States, in the principal markets of the country from which the same has been imported;" and the merchant must, at his peril, set forth such value in his entry.

The merchant's figures, however, are not binding upon the Government; and, to prevent undervaluation, the appraiser of the port is at liberty to raise them to any amount he deems necessary to make market value as above defined. From such action the merchant may appeal in support of his own valuation; and the composition of the tribunal for hearing his appeal was the first important point pressed upon the attention of Congress in 1890, as a matter demanding reform. Under the old law such appeal was heard by a Reappraisement Board, composed of a "discreet and experienced merchant," chosen by the collector of the port, and an officer known as a General Appraiser, or of two reliable merchants. Their appraisement was final, and "deemed to be the true value." For any undervaluation, the merchant was, and still is, subject to a penalty.

Such an arrangement may once have worked well, when commercial operations were small and simple; but long before 1890 it had become a snare, and an offence to honest men. The causes were not far to seek. The most glaring was the facility afforded the merchant appraiser for an inspection of the invoices and private papers of his competitors. The temptation was strong either to squeeze an active rival unmercifully, by raising his valuation, or else to "see him safely through," at the cost of the Government's interests, and thus to make a friend of the mammon of unrighteousness against some future evil day when the positions of the two merchants might be reversed. "Scratch my back, and I'll scratch yours," became a rule of action. A second serious cause of trouble was found in the widely different valuations fixed for like articles at different ports, or even at the same port. Each Board was a law unto itself; so the constitutional provision that "all

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duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States," was practically nullified.

The "General Appraisers" referred to were four persons, who, under the direction of the Treasury Department, travelled about the country to assist in reappraisements. Of course, the objections which existed to their colleagues, the merchant appraisers, did not extend to them. Questions of disputed classification were decided by the Secretary of the Treasury. The collector of the port decided in the first instance—as he still does—which provision of the tariff applied. The importer might then challenge the correctness of his decision by paying the duties under a written protest, setting forth the grounds of his dissatisfaction. This protest was then transmitted to the Secretary for his consideration. If he decided against the importer, the importer had another remedy, in the shape of a suit in the courts against the collector, to recover the excess of duties.

I have spoken of the Secretary as "deciding" the case. In point of fact, he seldom did more than sign his name to a decision prepared by law clerks in the Treasury Department. Except in rare instances, no Secretary found himself able to give anything like the necessary time and study to the thousands of cases involving intricate questions of law and fact. His clerks, too, labored under heavy disadvantages; being generally unable to obtain, in a city so little of a commercial centre as Washington, testimony concerning the character and uses of goods, the meaning of trade terms, and the like. They had usually to rely only upon the report of the collector, which was, naturally, in support of his own classification.

A second serious disadvantage arose from the fact that, if the Secretary's decision was in favor of the importer, and a refund was ordered, the Government's rights were forever cut off. Unlike the importer, the Government could not enter the courts to allege error in the decision of its chief Minister of Finance. Thus the Treasury officials usually felt bound to resolve all doubts in favor of the Government, leaving the importer to his remedy in the courts. The appeal to the Secretary having dwindled into a mere form, suits multiplied with alarming rapidity. In 1889 there were pending in the Circuit Court at New York 4,497 customs suits, of which 1,735 had been brought during the preceding fiscal year. In that time only 653 were disposed of by the court. Justice was becoming almost hopelessly delayed.

The Customs Administrative Act, of June 10, 1890, swept away

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the old merchant appraisers and general appraisers, and abolished the appeal to the Secretary. It authorized the appointment by the President, with the consent of the Senate, of nine persons, still bearing the title of general appraisers, but with vastly different powers and duties. It enacted that appeals from appraisements by the local appraiser should be heard in the first instance by a single general appraiser, from whose decision a further appeal might be taken to a Board of three General Appraisers—to be designated by the Secretary out of the nine—whose decision was to be final. It further empowered the Secretary to designate one or more Boards of three General Appraisers, to consider all cases of classification arising upon protests sent up from any port in the union ; and from the decision of such Board, either the Government or the importer might appeal to the federal courts.

Although the nine General Appraisers were not to constitute a General Board or tribunal, but were to exercise their functions by means of Boards of three members each, yet these Boards, having always sat at New York City, within the same building, it has become customary, for convenience, to speak of the entire nine as The Board of General Appraisers. Their annual salary was fixed at $7,000 each ; they were forbidden to engage in any other business ; and not more than five were to be of the same political party. The President might remove them for malfeasance or inefficiency. Congress was evidently seeking to erect a permanent, independent, and competent tribunal for the disposition of all tariff disputes, in the hope that by this means both appraisements and classifications might become uniform and consistent throughout the country, and that the work of the courts might be materially reduced.

In a great measure these desirable ends have been reached. Certainly, the new system has been a vast improvement upon the old. A consistency and harmony of action in appraisements have resulted, which, under the old *régime*, would have been thought impossible. And resort to the courts over disputes of classification, though still common enough, has become much less frequent than before. Probably, the best grounds for criticism of present reappraisement methods are two :

First, the absence of any one Reappraisement Board of last resort. The Secretary having constituted two or more of these boards, and each one being final as to its own cases, it has sometimes happened that like goods have been appraised at different values. The oppor-

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tunity for consultation and discussion afforded to members seems insufficient to prevent, at times, wide divergence of opinion.

Secondly, the absence of any counsel to defend the Government's interests before the Boards of Appraisement. This omission thrusts upon the General Appraisers the inconsistent duties of both prosecutor and judge. The results are most unfortunate; it being beyond human wisdom to act in two such contrary capacities, and appear fair to all parties. The Interstate Commerce Commission knows this to its cost. The business of appraising is difficult and delicate enough at best. It should not be surrounded by a partisan atmosphere, calculated to breed resentment and suspicion.

For the last two years, the Secretary of the Treasury has endeavored to separate completely the classification and reappraisement jurisdictions of the Board, vesting the two powers in entirely different General Appraisers. He has worked on the principle that perfection is reached only through a division of labor. There is now only one Classification Board. Indeed, it must not be overlooked that the placing of classification and reappraisement work in the hands of the same set of officials was a novelty, introduced by the Customs Administrative Act. Nothing of the kind existed before ; and the attempt was unfortunate thus to mingle two such wholly diverse jurisdictions. The skill, learning, and experience requisite for appraisement work differ as much from the qualities needed by members of the Classification Board as the work of a bureau of expert statisticians differs from that of a court of justice. It is difficult to see any good reason for such an admixture ; and the first step Congress should take in the direction of tariff administrative reform should be the complete separation of the two jurisdictions, by conferring them on wholly distinct bodies.

The present Board of General Appraisers should be continued as a National Reappraisement tribunal, with all its existing powers in that behalf ; but its classification jurisdiction, which is purely judicial, ought to be vested in some permanent and duly constituted court, a National Court of Customs. The judgments of such a court should be made final ; and thus might be avoided the tedious and expensive appeals to the United States Courts, already too much pressed with business of their own.

In considering the need of a National Court of Customs, it is important to keep sharply in mind the fact that a customs suit differs in certain important particulars from an ordinary trial at law. It is really a proceeding *de re*, rather than *in personam* or *in rem ;* for it

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affects not merely the rights of the particular litigants, but all the merchants of the country who are engaged in importing the same class of goods. For such suits, two grand essentials must evidently be: first, a speedy procedure; secondly, the fixedness and binding force of a judgment when rendered, so as to form a precedent and guide for the future. A clause of the tariff having once been judicially construed, it ought to be possible for every one to rely upon that construction as a true exposition of the law. Nothing is so disastrous to true business interests as doubt and uncertainty upon the question of the extent of taxation an article must bear.

Under present procedure that question is often most difficult to determine, for no less than three appeals may be taken beyond the Classification Board's decision: first to the United States Circuit Court; then to the Circuit Court of Appeals; and finally to the Supreme Court. It has sometimes proved impossible to learn the meaning of a tariff act until after the repeal of the act. Several years must usually elapse before the opinion of the Supreme Court is obtained; and by the time that august tribunal has delivered its final judgment, the act under which the question arose is dead and gone, and a new one, bristling with fresh perplexities of its own, reigns in its stead. Customs suits illustrate with immense force the saying of Lord Eldon, that "it is better that the law should be certain than that every judge should speculate upon improvement in it;" and the further remark of Judge Somerville, that "it is often more important that a rule of law should be fixed, even though with less of reason in it, than that it should be vague and uncertain, but with a better show of reason." A further difficulty exists in the fact that the courts in the various circuits sometimes reach irreconcilably different conclusions upon the same point of law; thus leaving the Classification Board and the customs officials in doubt as to which to follow, and rendering an appeal to the Supreme Court almost indispensable.

As New York is the greatest importing centre of the country, by far the greatest number of customs suits occur in the court for that district; but so crowded with general business is its calendar that the judges have found it impossible to give more than a few weeks each year for the trial of tariff causes. They have been forced to adopt the practice of rendering oral decisions; finding it impracticable to devote to the elaborate and technical issues litigated before them the desired amount of time for study. In short, our present procedure seems specially designed to breed confusion and delay in a branch of legal

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business where speed and certainty are so vitally necessary. Being so much in the dark as to the duties they must pay, the merchants find it best to base calculations upon the highest rate of duty that seems in the slightest degree probable. Upon this calculation a selling-price is fixed; and should the courts ultimately hold that some lower rate was applicable, a refund is obtained, which, coming long after the goods have been sold and paid for, is looked upon as a bonus or gratuity out of the public purse, and may represent a clear gain to the importer.

The establishment of a National Customs Court, with ample powers and jurisdiction, rendering final judgments—judgments not reviewable elsewhere—would be a long step in the direction of simplicity and certainty. A court of seven judges, located at New York City, and sitting at other ports at stated intervals, would probably be able to keep well up with its business. It would be by no means necessary that every case should be tried before a full Bench. Many hundreds of cases on every docket are precisely alike—as where some well-known staple article is imported in quantities—and are submitted by counsel upon nothing more than the usual custom-house papers, together with duly verified samples of the goods, and a reference to some previous decision covering all the points at issue. For such work one judge would be entirely competent to make the necessary order, without drawing at all upon the time of his colleagues.

For the disposition of more important cases, a procedure modelled after that of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts might well be adopted. It should be possible for counsel when trying causes before a single judge to request that he reserve his decision and report the case for the consideration of the full Bench, to the end that their opinion might be obtained on certain specified points, or on the case as a whole. If the request were deemed meritorious the judge would reserve the case, and report it to his colleagues. They might consider it at length, either with or without additional argument upon the exceptions taken or rulings made, and might then render final judgment, or remand the case for the taking of further testimony as justice might require. Should the judge deem the request for reservation to be without merit he might deny it, and proceed to decide the matter himself; and from his decision an appeal could be prosecuted to the full court. By some such system an immense amount of routine business might be transacted with rapidity; and, at the same time, all the benefits of the conservative and deliberate action of an appeal court would be

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preserved. To the finality of decision of the Customs Court now advocated, there should be one plain exception. A writ of error should lie with the Supreme Court to bring up a question arising under the United States Constitution, or treaties made thereunder.

The cases arising before the present Board of Classification sometimes place that body in a very delicate position. One illustration will suffice. Although the decisions of the Appraisement Boards are, and ought to be, final, yet every appraisement is subject to be impeached where the appraiser or collector has proceeded upon a wrong principle, contrary to law, or has transcended the powers conferred by statute. The impeachment is made by filing a protest against the action of the collector in assessing duties upon the valuation thus ascertained. A case is thus presented for the Classification Board and the courts. The right to bring it necessarily follows from the fact that the Reappraisement Board, being a special statutory tribunal of limited jurisdiction, and not proceeding according to the course of the common law, is always subject to have its action inquired into in a collateral proceeding, as respects its jurisdiction, and as regards acts in excess of its power. Were this not so there would be no way of correcting the most flagrant errors in excess of power or jurisdiction which the Reappraisement Board might commit, and intolerable injustice might follow.

If, then, the Reappraisement Board's proceedings are subject to this species of review, though they cannot be challenged by a direct appeal, it is clear that the reviewer should be not only some other body than that which rendered the decision under review, but also some tribunal not in any way connected with it. Among the members of a body like the present Board of General Appraisers, there is, and must be, too close a union to save the members of the Classification Board from a certain embarrassment in pronouncing the action of their colleagues unauthorized and void. Nor is the press or the public slow to appreciate this. Plainly, such a situation should be avoided. A Court of Customs in no way connected with the Appraisement Board would be in a far better position to scrutinize the action of that Board than any General Appraiser can now possibly be, let his juridical learning and attainments be what they may.

It needs no elaborate argument to show that public confidence would much more readily be reposed in a National Court of Customs, of a fixed personnel, with judges protected from arbitrary removal by the United States Constitution, than can ever be accorded to a Board

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whose status is not entirely clear, whose organization lies largely within the discretion of the Secretary of the Treasury, and whose members the President claims the right to remove at any time. It was, indeed, long supposed that the Customs Administrative Act guaranteed to the General Appraisers a tenure during good behavior, like that of the federal judges ; but apparently the law has been construed differently ; one of them having been removed recently without the assignment of any charges.[1] It is clear that public confidence will not be extended in any great degree to a tribunal constantly passing upon cases to which the Government is a party, and yet always menaced by possible executive displeasure. It would be a great misfortune if a tribunal having such a far-reaching control should become the football of politicians.[2]

[1] While this article has been in preparation, another member has retired under similar circumstances.

[2] Nothing contained in this article is designed to reflect in any way upon the present Board of General Appraisers, which, amid many difficulties, has successfully discharged its arduous duties. The writer also desires to say that, in advocating the establishment of a customs court, he is not to be understood as favoring a trial of customs suits by juries.

W. A. Robertson.

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OPERA LIBRETTI.

"AND what do *you* know about the opera?" some fair enthusiast may exclaim, "And who made *you* a musical critic?" Well, one man in his time plays many parts, but the part of a critic of music I have never played, nor do I now intend to play. As a patron of this art, I have confined myself to paying blackmail to itinerant performers: it is the best means of inducing them to seek new victims. The opera itself I have visited, both in London and Paris, but this inconsistent behavior must be explained. The late Master of Balliol used to tell how he was dining alone, once, at an hotel. He heard the sound of uncorking a bottle of champagne, then another, presently a third. He glanced round and saw a single gentleman at the table behind him, who remarked, "I would have ye to know, sir, that I am not travelling at my own expense." It was not at my own expense that I went to the opera, where I supported myself by eating elegant preparations of chocolate (also at the expense of a French friend) and reading the libretto, or book of words.

It is about the books of the words, not the music which has made a *mésalliance* with the words, that I am to write. Any man may write about poetry, especially if he is himself a poet, as almost everybody has been, in fact *everybody*, according to Sainte-Beuve. Moreover, I myself have been the author of the first acts of two libretti, in circumstances so full of admonition that I venture to describe them. It was not that I had any desire to shine in opera: I did not knock at the stage doors, nor pine to have my words interpreted by singing men and singing women. The composer, the manager, came to me, and invited coöperation. The composer was one of our most celebrated: he asked for a libretto about King Arthur and Queen Guinevere. Anxious to oblige I composed one act. It opened with the Queen going a-maying. She and her bower maidens chanted, of course, the mediæval commonplaces of the season, nightingales, flowers, and so forth. They met Merlin, at heart an unconverted heathen, who was doing ancient British ritual (see Mr. Frazer's "Golden Bough") and was singing hymns. To them enter Launcelot. And here I pointed out to the com-

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poser that Launcelot must be riding : no knight ever walked a mile, and when Launcelot had no horse, he drove in a *charrette*, a woodman's cart. The composer would not permit horses to come on ; so, contrary to historical truth, Launcelot was obliged to "pad the weary hoof." The act was finished ; I sent it to the celebrated composer ; he said that it was excellent ; and, from that day to this, I have never heard another word from him on the subject. I daresay he has my MS. somewhere.

On the second occasion an experienced manager appealed to me. He wanted an opera on Mr. Rider Haggard's "Cleopatra." Well, I went to work bravely, and introduced a street scene in Alexandria; bringing forward the two famous Dorian ladies from Theocritus—the *Adoniazusæ*. They are known to some readers from Mr. Matthew Arnold's translation. I forget the rest of the act, but, naturally, a chorus of devotees of Isis entered. The act was finished: I took it to the theatre. The manager ran about a queer little dusty room, speaking down telephones in an agitated manner. The composer was pleased, the manager expressed delight, and he planned an act inside the Great Pyramid. I did not, myself, think it a feasible act, and I did not write it. But I did write later to tell the manager that I desired to see our covenant or agreement engrossed in black and white before going further. Had it not been for my experience with the composer, I should have indited the whole book, and been left with the MS. for my sole reward.

The manager replied that he was not going to have any opera at all. I thought that he might have mentioned this circumstance earlier, and not let me produce a work which he did not want. It was an oversight. But, as I had not written the work beyond the first act (I wonder where it is !) he did me less harm than might have been expected. These fragments of autobiography are here offered to prove that the young, and the elderly, but inexperienced, had better be very careful in their dealings with managers, composers, and the profession generally. Publishers demoralize us : they treat us like vertebrate animals. Thus I am not wholly unversed in libretti : not bad verse, either, were my operas, as libretti go.

These compositions, as a rule, are constrained to be absurd. Whatever primitive man may have done, modern humanity does not invariably sing, as in the opera, but speaks. A chorus of conspirators yelling, "Hist, we are observed !" shouts an obvious truism. In an opera on the Gunpowder Plot, the conspirators, Catesby, Fawkes, and

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the rest, would sing at the tops of their voices, under Cecil's windows, or as they store the powder under the House of Lords, with the sympathy of Mr. Labouchere. But as the audience does not know what they are saying, nor (as far as my experience goes) what it is all about, nobody is the worse, and libretti might as well be written in Chinese. When the author is only a translator he must "syllabify and accentuate with extreme care, according to the syllabification and accentuation of the original," which rather trammels the poor man. The opera is thus the most conventional of conventions; adding new bonds to those inflicted by the drama. The music and singing are the thing, and also these prolonged gargles in which the prima donna indulges, to the delight of the proper audience. Such pleasures are a mystery to me: but there is still hope. Dr. Johnson was over seventy when he first got any enjoyment out of music—a dirge it was.

Recognizing these imperfect sympathies I have all toleration for the librettist. Out of a mass of his industries one picks up "The Huguenots." The book does not say who wrote the words: they are "edited and translated by Manfredo Maggioni." The piece opens in Touraine, in the Castello del Conte de Nevers. Gentlemen, Protestant and Catholic, are drinking and singing. Nevers announces:

"I shall myself to-morrow
Be bound in Hymen's chains,"

Here we expect:

"Away, away with sorrow
And Celibacy's pains."

Not so, however. The fatuous Nevers goes on:

"And I renounce all love.
And from this very moment
I feel that I cannot
Assuage the cruel grief
Of all the other ladies."

Obviously Nevers is in an improper frame of mind for a bridegroom. Not thus should we enter the temple where Hymen, in antique fashion, gilds the horns of the victims. Raoul (hero and Huguenot) then tells how *he* first saw and loved the object of his flame. It was returned at first sight. His Puritan servant enters; "business" follows; a veiled lady is led through the room into the gardens, on which the window opens. A secret visitor would naturally enter the gardens

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in this, the only conspicuous and compromising way, instead of going round outside. Otherwise there would be no plot: besides this is the most absurd method possible. Raoul then peeps out of the window "into the adjacent chapel," and there beholds his lady love. De Nevers passes through the gardens with a veiled lady. A page brings a letter for Raoul. It is from Marguerite de Valois, then engaged to Henry of Navarre. Raoul naturally reads the letter aloud, and hands it round. He is invited by Marguerite to go away blindfolded in a carriage. Everybody congratulates Raoul, recognizing Marguerite's hand and seal. For a Huguenot, Raoul is passably *fanfaron*.

We now go to Chenonceaux, where Marguerite sings of her "rigid moral" to her ladies. This is more in the spirit of her Memoirs than of her reputation. However, she next sings:

"Be banished all cares
Except to pay homage
To pleasure and love."

Valentine, Raoul's lady, now announces that Nevers has promised not to marry her. It was for this boon that she walked through his room, veiled, but detected by Raoul, in Scene III. Raoul enters, blindfolded. Marguerite has sent for him to tell him that he can marry Valentine. "If I were a flirt," says Marguerite (and never was a greater), "his conquest, I confess, would be an easy matter." The other gentlemen enter: they are to go to Paris "on private business" (the massacre). They take oaths of friendship. Valentine is brought forward. Raoul (under the false impression that she is the mistress of Nevers, as above) declines her hand. The gentlemen are angry. Obviously Raoul, though intimate with De Nevers, did not know that he was to marry Valentine next day, still less, of course, that she had induced him to break off the engagement. But what mortal could understand these impossible combinations, when he only hears them chanted?

Next we have merrymakings on the *Pré aux Clercs*, an unlikely place (it was the usual scene of single combats), and a duel is arranged to be fought at night, an unlikely circumstance. Raoul is to fight Valentine's father, who has arranged to assassinate him. Valentine and Marguerite appear. Valentine is carried off to marry Nevers, after all! In the third act we are again at Nevers' chateau in Touraine; Raoul, behind a curtain, hears the arrangements for the massacre; Nevers refuses to take part in it; Valentine, whose position Raoul

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now understands, tries to prevent him from going to Paris, where, as the chorus sings:

"The child and the mother
Must perish *without reserve!*"

The massacre of Paris is next visible and audible, though (according to the book) Raoul and Valentine are far away from Paris, in Touraine! The meaning may be that the scene is in the town house of Nevers, but nothing is said to indicate this. Finally (Act IV) the massacre begins during a ball at the Hôtel de Nesle. Valentine next meets Raoul in the open air, and becomes a Protestant. "Oh, rapture!" cries Raoul. Valentine is shot.

"What do I see? My child?"

cries her father, who leads the slayers. Marguerite passes, coming, oh History! from a ball, on her way to the Louvre. Chorus of slayers. Curtain.

This is, on the face of it, not a well-constructed piece. And the historical pedant is not alone in his objections; for time and place are practically annihilated, to make two lovers unhappy.

The plot of the celebrated "Trovatore" produces on my brain much the same effect as does *un beau page d'algèbre*, or one of these elegant Babylonian records on clay, which look like chocolate inscribed with cuneiform. These things have their entirely lucid meaning for the mathematician or the Orientalist, not for others. Perhaps "Il Trovatore" meaneth somewhat. Scene I: Ferrando (apparently the butler or seneschal) appears in a lobby of the palace of the Count de Luna. He wakens the hired helps, because the count is out, and usually "comes home with the milk," as the vulgar say. "He must not find us asleep." The count is not a dissipated man; he merely

"spends the hours of the night
under the balcony
of his beloved."

He is not alone in this unsatisfactory practice. Ferrando tells the other servants how, long ago, a witch was found in the room of the count's baby brother, in the time of the count's father. The witch was burned, but left a daughter. Garzia, the baby, disappeared, and presently the bones of a child were found where the witch had suffered. The father, who had obviously read novels, could not be per-

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suaded that the bones were his Garzia's bones. However, the father died, but the butler thinks he could recognize the witch's daughter if they met. In the next scene Leonora confides to Inez that she cares for an unknown knight, and rather thinks he is the troubadour.

"May not this powerful love
To her yet fatal prove,"

sings Inez, aside. Then the count comes under Leonora's window, as does the troubadour. Leonora runs out to kiss the troubadour, but embraces the count by mistake. "What must I do?" says the count, feebly. [Jealousy of the troubadour, who observes, but does not understand, the situation.] But, indeed, no more do I, for Manrico comes in. Are there three lovers? No, Manrico is the troubadour, and is recognized as a rebel by the count. "The rivals retire with drawn swords. Leonora falls senseless."

In Act II Azucena, daughter of the burned witch, tells the story to the other gypsies. Azucena explains to the troubadour that, meaning to burn the count's son (the aforesaid Garzia), she, by some incomprehensible accident, burned her own. The troubadour, whom she has brought up, asks, very naturally, "If I am not thy son, who then am I?" Who, indeed? Azucena ("hastily, as one who tries to amend a mistake") replies, "Thou art my son!" Leonora is now reported to be about to take the veil. The count lies in wait for her, outside the convent, but the troubadour "appears as a vision, and throws himself between them. General astonishment"—though it is just what we expected. At the camp of the count, later, Azucena is brought in, and recognized by the butler. She is dragged off, but the troubadour intends to rescue her. He is, in his turn, caught, and Leonora offers to wed the count, as the price of the troubadour's freedom. Really, she means to take poison, which she carries, conveniently, in a ring, like Hannibal. All meet in prison. Leonora dies: the troubadour is slain by the count's order. Azucena explains to the count that he has executed his own brother, the missing baby brother. Azucena then expires, or perhaps only faints.

COUNT. Oh! What horror! *Curtain.*

Clearly this would be a hard play to understand, even if the performers talked in place of singing.

The worst enemy of librettists must admit that, at least, they are

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not pedants. "Aïda" is cast at large in the wide period "when the Pharaohs ruled over Egypt," say 5,000 years. We incidentally learn, from the chorus, that the Egyptian monarchy is elective, like that of Poland. Here, as usual, people concealed in or near temples overhear state secrets, and, also, as usual, everything ends badly, the lovers being buried alive. In "Messalina," the doings of the wife of Marcus Aurelius would have horrified Marius the Epicurean, and I blush to report them. She is supposed to be more or less redeemed by a real passion for an African athlete, whom she induces to slay his brother, also one of her numerous admirers. This is a sample of the verse :

MESSALINA. Thou ! Why comest thou hither ?
HARES. (Vehemently.)
For thy self's sake—
(Sweetly.)
Thou who art e'er to me dear !
E'en for thee ! To take thee now from here !

The opera of Wagner, being based on epic and national legends, is, of course, a protest against the vacant and inept operas which preceded it. The opera itself is a kind of return to the earliest form of the Greek drama, which was mainly musical and choral. Protests from the sober-minded have accompanied the opera through the whole course of its existence. But protests have never been of any avail. Music, dance, and spectacle are the *raison d'être* of this kind of entertainment ; and, to adapt a saying of one of Miss Austen's heroes, if an opera were rational, it might be a better thing, but would not be nearly so like an opera. "I was twice at the opera," wrote Dr. Carlyle, in 1746, "which seemed so very far from real life, and unnatural, that I was pleased with nothing but the dancing, which was exquisite, especially that of Violetti." Every art, by its nature, is "very far from real life ;" but the opera is at the remotest remove, and the further removed the more is it operatic.

It is known that our rude forefathers, about 1720, in the time of Pope and Swift and Gay, kicked against the newly introduced Italian opera, as a thing incompatible with beef, beer, common sense, and the British Constitution. But fashion overpowered these protests. I find in a newspaper the following attempt, whether serious or humorous, to explain an opera. Mr. Page Hopps, to whom the interpretation is ascribed, is not, professionally, a humorist. If rightly reported he is rather a mythologist of the Solar school, to which I am opposed. What does the libretto of "Il Flauto Magico" mean ?

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Most folk give it up. The resolute Mr. Page Hopps, however, is not one of them. "The Magic Flute," he writes to us, "is a beautifully worked-out presentation in dramatic form of the story, dear to all ancient mythologies, of the birth of Dawn, or its separation from Night, and of the Earth's union with Dawn or Day. Astrifiammanti is the Queen of Night, or Night itself, and her daughter, Pamina, is the Dawn, separated from her, but in the keeping of Sarostro, high-priest of the Temple of the Sun, and in charge of a dusky slave, or Twilight. But the Earth, Tamino, is seeking her, and cannot find or possess her, until the splendor of Day arrives, and then, all darkness over, and storms all past, Earth and the Day find each other, and are welcomed to the Temple of the Sun.

"Papageno and Tamino represent the two sides of earth-life—the animal and the intellectual. Both are seeking the Dawn and Day, but for different reasons. For the one, the earth is a great cookshop and the sun a wonderful cook; for the other, the earth is a scene of intellectual and emotional life and activity, and the sun is the symbol of love and beauty and wisdom. All this is most carefully and artistically worked out in the plot. Attention might be drawn to the meaning of the flute and the bells; to the curious dancing of the dusky slaves, or mists and clouds, to prevent the escape of Dawn; to the wonderful silence which precedes the emergence of Day, and to the gradual approach and meeting of Earth and Dawn. Next comes the final trial of storm and mist, and then, all trials over, with Night discomfited and Twilight banished and clouds dispersed, the blaze of glory bursts upon the vision, and the story ends with a flood of song, which reveals the meaning of the whole."

Now, if Prof. de Gubernestis found time, among his mythological speculation, to write "Il Flauto Magico," the libretto may have this truly cosmic significance. Otherwise I must reserve my confidence in the interpretation. Indeed, why interpret at all? A libretto (except Wagner's) does not mean anything in particular; it is a mere excuse for music, dance, and song; and he who does not love them

"Remains a fool his whole life long."

ANDREW LANG.

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THE IGNORANCE OF EDUCATION AND THE PROJECT OF AN INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITY.

THE question as to what ought to constitute the "higher" education of a tolerant civilization will probably for all time be debated and considered a debatable one. Waves of reform in studies will rise and fall, and each generation is likely to witness some marked improvement or advance upon the systems that were in vogue with the suffering students of the generation before. Methods and studies "new" are launched by pedagogues the world over upon the sea of education, just as new dresses are flung upon the manikins of fashion to redeem the crudities of the style that has just passed. Systems of literary reading, cyclopædias of best thought, are hurled at the hungry public, just as the multiplication table used to be flung at the complaisant lad of the time when the "new arithmetic" was still an unknown quantity. The processes of analytic determination have crowded out those of the receptive faculty, and we pride ourselves on the knowing of the whyfore and wherefore of everything. Verily, it might be said that we stand on the threshold of all knowledge, and that the sphinx of silence has become only a relic of ancient history.

Has it in truth come to this? Is the present generation so much wiser as the result of its scholastic training that it can afford to look back upon that which preceded with the feeling that the present has buried the past, and that compassion only need be written over the tombstone?

From time to time a protest is heard to this declaration in the feeling that the university man, judged at least in a scale of comparative efficiency, is unfitted to execute many of the charges which the ordinary walks of life entail upon mankind; that his mind, instead of remaining free for thought, is crabbed with a method that has been forced upon it; and that the facts with which it has been stored are those which bring remuneration neither to body nor to soul. However much one may feel disposed to set aside such an allegation, every honest educator will admit to himself that there is something of truth in the criticism, and perhaps even more than he may feel disposed to

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confess. A feeling of unrest seizes upon him with each new disclosure of disqualification, or that which is asserted to be such, and he racks his brain in order to discover what new weapon of defence might be evolved from the pedagogical acorn. It is this that has made the words "pedagogics" and "pedagogical" such tyrants in the language of to-day, and has made them powerful with the all-circular educational conventions and the self-satisfying "teachers' institutes." With the public at large they are less popular, and to some, it must be confessed, their deliverance brings a feeling almost akin to nausea.

When one seeks to ascertain the value or non-value of the university education, such as we now recognize it, more particularly in this country, it is not sufficient to bring forward the strength of the learning that has been acquired, nor the diversity of topic that has been reached; for the calculation of deficiencies is a more nearly satisfying measure of the service that has been put into three or four years of the best period of academic life. In this connection, it may be recommended as a healthful exercise for the student of the class of 1898–1899 to ascertain for himself to what extent he may have been familiar, historically, geographically, linguistically, and from the side of nature, with the regions of the earth's surface which have latterly engaged the attention of more than one of the great nations of the globe—Cuba, the Philippines, Puerto Rico, the Transvaal, and the northwest of the North American continent. It is claimed, that Java was ceded to the Dutch, in 1816, because England's Minister of Foreign Affairs could not locate the island on the map; and, in nearly the same way it may be said that a nation of 75,000,000 inhabitants plunged into war with a distant land and people, concerning which an ignorance prevailed that was as astonishing as the blunders to which it gave rise were distressing. And this ignorance permeated not alone the "classes," but all the departments which make up the active machinery of the national government.

And yet, the Philippines are neither a desert nor a mere oasis of the Pacific; their population being perhaps not far from one-seventh of that of the entire United States, and nearly equal to that of Mexico. At about the period of the outbreak of hostilities Manila, the chief port and capital, had a population of perhaps 250,000 souls, or somewhat more than that of Genoa; and its commerce, calculated for both exports and imports, played no unimportant rôle in the economic relations of the globe. It is probably not overstepping the mark to say that at the beginning of 1898 not five university students out of a

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thousand could have given any information regarding these islands which might have been considered worth knowing. And though the government of a nation, which has implanted upon its free soil not less than a hundred universities or higher colleges, may have found it necessary to dispatch special commissioners to "study up" the region, and to dispel in part the obscurity that surrounded it, it must not be assumed that there had not been made up to that time any detailed study of those islands, or that the literature pertaining to them was inaccessible. But it had not yet reached the centres of our institutions of learning.

With the invasion of Cuba we had an army—if we are fully to credit the reports of the commanding officers—entering into the "wilds" of a near-by land with maps hardly better than those of the crudest atlases, to assist in the work of military exploration; and the maps furnished to the navy appear to have been but little better. This is surpassing strange when it is recalled that Cuba lies just off the United States, and frequently, during the last thirty years, has given rise to disquieting rumors as to a possible engulfment by the United States.

This ignorance of matters geographical, except as coming back in the form of a disagreeable personal humiliation, is hardly surprising to the non-university observer; for he has long since recognized that our higher institutions of learning stand above the plane of geographical teaching. It is true that from time to time we scan from publishers' lists the advent of some geography to which the educating author has affixed the word "new"; and the hope is entertained that the "new geography" will finally supply a long-felt want. But it takes little examination of these works to show that their newness is largely of the bald and ancient type; and the study of geography, where there is such a study at all, continues in our schools and colleges as geography with geography left out, running closely parallel in its method with the study of history. It may be seriously questioned if there are three institutions of academic learning in the entire United States where, at the present time, sound geographical information can be obtained covering the countries to which reference has been made, or where thought is expended upon the political or ethnographic relations existing there.

Of all the lapses in our university training perhaps none is so glaring as that which touches just this "earth knowledge," or, as it is more happily expressed by the German, "Erdkunde." We learn sufficiently of Greek, but know nothing of Greece, either ancient or

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modern ; we may acquire something of French and German, or even master these languages, and yet know practically nothing of either France or Germany, no more than our study of Oriental languages teaches us of the East. It is only with the outbreak of a sudden movement that we begin to "brush up;" and it has frequently been remarked that wars afford a providential means of acquiring geographical knowledge.

How the German geographical and historical method contrasts with this appears from a review of the educational process which has recently been published in Petermann's "Mitteilungen." At not less than forty German and Austrian universities and higher academies the study of countries and peoples is given an uppermost place in the curriculum of education. At the University of Berlin alone there are not less than fifteen chairs or courses of ethno-geographical teaching, not including here the more strictly defined courses in geology and physical geography ; and the Seminary for Oriental Languages, in the same city, furnishes for the winter semester of 1899–1900 ten courses in the study of the geography, history, and ethnology of modern Greece, Syria, Persia, China, Japan, eastern and western Africa, and the Sudan. Much the same diversity and breadth of subject are found in the teachings of the Universities of Leipsic and Vienna; and it is extraordinary what a wealth of subject is outlined by the professors even of the minor universities for their courses of the coming year.

Not many years ago our War Department admitted that much the best general maps of the United States were those to be found in the German atlases. But enormous strides have been made in the official maps of our country during the last few years, causing them to compare favorably in accuracy of detail and execution with nearly the best of their kind issued elsewhere. No better way of satisfying one's self with regard to the amplitude and exactness of the German geographical treatment of a country can be had than by examining the "Baedeker" for the United States, and by comparing the detail, cartographical and descriptive, which appears in that publication (of the Adirondacks, of the Yellowstone and Yosemite, or of the different cities, for example) with similar work in corresponding American or English publications.

Special stress has here been laid upon the deficiencies of this particular branch of learning, because, everywhere, they glaringly stare us in the face. Millions of square miles of the inhabited earth's surface are as unknown to the average university graduate as is the bottom

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of the sea or the top of the atmosphere ; and tens of millions of the earth's inhabitants enjoy an obscurity in his cerebral whirl as complete as that which marks the conception of sky-scrapers and railroads in the brain of the Eskimo. But it is not alone here that we are sadly deficient. Into the domain of science, to which so much attention is properly given at this time, we carry a misguided method which is most distressing in its results. We, or at least many of us, may be proficient in the dissection of a cockroach or mussel, know the ganglia in the sympathetic system of a rabbit, and even talk understandingly of the relations of blastoderm, gastrula, and hypoderm. But much the larger proportion of those who bear diplomas fail to recognize even the commonest of the birds of the field either by song or form ; and as to the habits and life of animals generally, the common knowledge is of such a nature that it might almost as well be dispensed with altogether. Our botanical laboratories teach us properly of sap-circulation and embryo ; and under the microtome we bring plant tissue to nearly its finite particle, so far as study is concerned. But it is safe to say that much the larger number of those who leave their *alma mater* equipped for the higher life cannot in the field distinguish between a birch and a poplar, or between a spruce and a pine.

We study minutely the details of " world " history, follow the fortunes of commanders of a thousand or two thousand years ago to the year and month, and in some cases almost to the day, and treasure up the episodes of war and conquest with a nicety that is almost touching in its tenderness ; but the works of the masters of art, whether of painting, sculpture, architecture, music, or the drama, whose refining or vivifying influence is so directly exerted upon mankind, find but the scantiest foothold in our repertoire of collegiate studies. In this regard, indeed, many of the private schools and seminaries far outdo the more potent institutions of higher learning. The pleasure to life that could readily be given to hundreds of thousands by a systematic course in drawing and painting, not to mention the direct practical benefits, is forfeited to the advantage of other studies which neither truly interest nor inspire, and whose benefits (if there are such) are dissipated within the first few weeks after graduation.

All these deficiencies may, indeed, be considered trivial by those who hold that the higher education should take no cognizance of the commonplace and the material ; but the scholar, however well he may be equipped with a knowledge of Greek and Latin roots, with the formulas of the Rig Veda, and with psychological inductions, who is

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suddenly confronted in the field with growths of oats and rye, and cannot distinguish between them, or who does not know even in minutest degree the conditions governing farming or agriculture, is hardly in a way to excite enthusiasm for study among the multitude, who constitute the rural population of every country. "Reuben" from the country is hardly more of a "jay" in the city than is the average college graduate a "jake" in the country.

One can readily anticipate the part-answer that might be made to the criticisms which have here been advanced; namely, that the university affords the opportunity for the study of the branches in which a deficiency has been remarked. It is not, however, a question as to what it offers, but of what it gives to the vast majority of students, and what the students take from it. In its present state, with tendencies clinging to it from a remote past, it is inchoate in both form and substance. What it will be in the future it is impossible to predicate; but that it could be readily improved in its humanizing, directing, and practical tendencies, and give more of a knowledge that is worth having than what it now gives, is as certain as that the sun will set.

At a time when so much effort is expended looking to the betterment of present educational institutions, it may perhaps not be amiss to force an example, and to abjure almost *in toto* the system that has so long dominated the university. The first essential of an education is to know something; the second is to know the most of that which is most worth knowing. The problem is, then, how to acquire the "most." The fact, however agreeably or disagreeably received, has long been recognized, that personal contact and practical demonstration or experimentation are to most students much the safest road to the acquiring of knowledge; and the proposition of contact-study, except as a purely theoretical conception, calls for no further discussion. Only the question of how the greatest amount of contact can be established requires particular consideration.

The suggestion is here thrown out that a university, instead of retaining its simple national character, be converted into one with international characteristics; the coöperation of different nations being invited to secure the furtherance of this end. There seems to be no particular reason why a three or four years' course should be tempered exclusively by the atmosphere of a single city or country. No one will question that the same period of time judiciously applied to study in different countries, and with studies standing in the main in direct relation to the environment, must produce results of a much more sub-

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stantial and lasting character than those with which we have been so long familiar as the outcome of the present system.

Eight months' study in Germany of the German language, of the country and people at large, of German literature, history, art, and manufactures, followed by a similar course, whether of greater or less length, in France, England, Italy, Switzerland, cannot fail to be decisive in at least many of its aspects. And, in the end, the student, let him be ever so stupid or perverse, must acquire something to which he can look with real advantage. Rome studied from the Forum is very different from Rome studied from class-books, just as widely separated as would be the study of modern France in the monuments of Paris from written history, or that of the living glacier of Switzerland or the active volcano about Naples from the text furnished by geological text-books. A little of real Russia is worth a ton of theoretical Russia, and much more than that amount of many other studies which to-day so largely engross the time of the university student and lead to practically nothing. Moreover, the advantage of studying under wholly different masters presents itself as an obvious proposition.

It is not the purpose of this article to outline a course of international university training, or to indicate the methods by which it might be most readily brought about. It is enough to know that such a project lies well within the zone of practicability, and is already narrowly anticipated in the "travelling" system which attains with the German universities. A prearranged system of main studies for the different countries, designed also to include a certain number of studies as are not distinctly geographical or historical in their relations, can easily be formulated, and made equally applicable to students of all nations. Few, then, of the general branches would remain over for a "finishing" year at the home college, or for that period of time which may be considered necessary to compass them.

It may be objected that the plan here outlined contemplates personal expenditure far beyond what is now incurred at the different seats of learning at home, and that in a prohibitory aspect it might act rather as a deterrent than as an incentive to the acquiring of knowledge. What this excess of expenditure may amount to cannot easily be calculated to a narrow margin; but it would probably not be such as to overreach the capacities of most university students. And it may be taken for certain that the courses need not be made more costly than the courses at some of the university centres to-day. A judiciously conducted study-course of two years following both banks of

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the Mediterranean would be worth much more to most students than any combination of four years that we can extract from our existing university courses.

No account has here been taken of the purely professional studies, full successional courses in which are conditions determining proficiency. Such will necessarily be taught in special schools, or schools of specialties, just as law, mining, and medicine are taught to-day. And as Prof. Huxley has characteristically stated the point, the more the intending specialist studies of his own branch and leaves the consideration of other branches for assistance or to possibilities afterwards, so much the better for the student and his following.

ANGELO HEILPRIN.

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WESTERN BENEFITS THROUGH CHINA'S DEVELOPMENT.

THE leavening of the vast Chinese Empire, begun within the past quarter of a century, by Western thought, is now strongly felt throughout the realm. Under the fostering influence of a wise and progressive government, it is effecting in a nation of over 400,000,000 souls marvellously beneficent changes. These have been watched by the peoples of the West with the utmost gratification, and with the liveliest anticipation and hope.

He must be a curious man of the West who does not feel a certain pride in the fact that the creations of his half of the world have begun to enter the thought realm of what is practically the remainder of the earth, and to effect methods, to establish modes, even to subvert forms in a region which for many centuries esteemed itself, and was in truth, the Supreme of the Universe. There is an element of sympathy in human nature which feels gratification in the advancement of a fellow-being, and contemplates with admiration and applause his rise to higher things.

It is not altogether concepts and precepts that move the numerous followers of your Christian faiths to establish schools, asylums, and hospitals, to usher the young into a flowering maturity, and to nurse the sick to health. There is an instinct, as natural to mankind as the instinct of self-preservation, which makes for the promotion of others in the scale of being ; and this instinct, operating on a plane as wide as the human nature of which it is a part, takes no account of race lines or color limits. Your missionary conceives that his doctrines will secure happiness to the soul after death : straightway he traverses cities and plains and jungles in search of all men not in accord with his views, be they pale, black, yellow, or red. But this most noble quality, like every other benevolent trait of our natures, may, in individual instances, be perverted. Where there were heartiness, helpfulness, and generosity there may come narrowness and selfishness ; and, unfortunate as the fact may be, these faults, which we are inclined to pity in people, who, from pinched, material conditions, regard with

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envy their more successful brothers, may exist in those who have not the excuse of material pressure, but who evolve their views from philosophy.

It is a false philosophy, however, that leads to such conclusions; for any reasoning which results in pitting man against man is just as wrong as the notion in chemistry which once designated filth as waste matter. We have since learned that filth is but matter out of place, that, in the harmony of nature, there is no such thing as waste. In the realm of human brotherhood similar harmonies exist; and if any line of thought concludes with a postulate that the prosperity and advancement of one people are irreconcilable with the prosperity and advancement of another people, that the living of one body of the race upon a plane of high ideals can be maintained only through the degradation of another body of the race, or through the continuance of it upon a level distinctly inferior, that line of thought, depend upon it, is wrong and mischievous.

It is to me a most painful circumstance that this idea of the success of one nation being dependent upon the non-success of another nation, and hence of the world, should be so widely diffused in the United States; and it is remarkable, too, that it should be diffused not only in the teeth of philosophy, but in the very presence of facts incessantly proclaiming to the contrary. It is a school of thought which, I am glad to say, England has survived, and which, it is comforting to note, the United States, under the sagacious administration now existing at Washington, is rapidly putting aside through the avenue of reciprocity treaties.

Nevertheless, there are those who, in all seriousness, maintain, with specious arguments, that the development of one nation must operate to the harm of the nations with which it trades if trade be left open between them. The most striking instance which I have lately observed of the assertion of this fallacy, elaborated with wrongly drawn deductions, is the article by Mr. John P. Young, in THE FORUM for November, 1899. It is more notable to me since the nation against which it is aimed is China. Mr. Young is the first man who, to my knowledge, has specifically declared in public print that the industrial development now progressing in China will result detrimentally to the welfare of the United States. If this voice had come from New York I might have thought that it was moved by rivalry on the part of the Eastern metropolis caused by the impending greatness of the chief seaport of the Pacific coast, fronting, as

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San Francisco does, the very face of China. But when it is considered that Mr. Young is a resident of San Francisco and managing editor of one of the largest newspapers on the coast, a newspaper which makes it its especial province to foster the industrial growth of the city and State, his error becomes all the more perplexing.

Mr. Young takes the curious position that the development of China, which would mean her rise in the production of those things esteemed by Westerners, would be a menace, and a possible blight, to Western industry. It is singular that any American should be found who asserts that American industry stands upon so unstable a basis. If the assertion were true, the country would have good reason to fear, and would urgently need to post geese on the Capitol to quack out in the night at the approach of an invader. Any civilization built upon such sands would surely be swept away; and the day of its downfall could never be far from the date of its rise. Mr. Young feels that the vast natural resources of China, together with her myriads of population, among whom the laborers are willing to work for a mere pittance per day, when acted upon by the methods in Western use, will result in producing so cheaply that the producers of the United States will be unable to compete with such products in their own market. The result will be, Mr. Young thinks, not only to drive American salesmen out of China, but to a large degree to close American mills, and to convert their salesmen into purveyors of Chinese wares. The picture is exceedingly dark. Here we have China's import trade entirely eliminated, and an immense export trade developed, by which China is inundating the United States with the things her people want, and taking nothing in return.

Mr. Young would say, however, that China would demand gold for her goods, and, in this way, would drain the country of gold. But China does not want gold ; almost every pennyweight mined within her territory being sent abroad. Gold is not currency with her ; it is a commodity no more specialized or valued than cloth or grain—indeed, not so much. China's standard is silver, and silver you do not want. Seven out of every ten of your silver mines are to-day lying idle. The people of the States in which the mines are located have recently been waging a vigorous campaign to open the mints of the country to the coinage of silver, in order that a market for their commodity may be created. Now here, according to Mr. Young, is China, which will be willing to take their silver and to give goods in return. Consequently, in any event, if Chinese competition should close the cotton mills of

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Massachusetts, the iron mills of Pennsylvania, the tanneries of Chicago, the furniture factories of Michigan, and so on throughout the whole gamut of American enterprise, it would at least open the silver mines of Utah, Nevada, and Montana, and make populous and powerful those now neglected States.

Meanwhile, it must be remembered that China has immense resources of silver of her own. The mountains which flank the Great Desert of Gobi, the Tsin-lings, the Pelings, the Nan-lings, all contain great deposits of silver; the mountains of Yun-nan being particularly rich in it. When the concessionaires to whom China has granted the privilege of digging and reducing much of this ore shall, by modern methods, have completed their task, then as much silver as all the needs of art or trade require shall be let loose over the Empire; and small call may be made upon foreign commerce for the money metal. If in the eyes of Mr. Young such a calamity takes place, and if, as he assumes, China still persists in sending to the United States her goods, why then, manufacturing everything cheaper than like articles are made here, there could, of course, be nothing taken in return; and the United States would be deluged in clean gift with infinite quantities of superior Chinese goods to the closing of all her mills and to the utter idleness of her people. Imagine such a state! Every person in possession of all he could desire to eat, drink, and wear, all of Chinese production, for which nothing could be taken in return because of your cost of manufacture, and, withal, lolling in enforced and complete indolence! Surely the possibilities of such a catastrophe might alarm any one. To avert such a misfortune the pens of such publicists as Mr. Young might well be engaged.

Mr. Young gives reasons for inclining to the opinion that the Chinese will take nothing in return for what they send. The chief reason is, that the Chinese want nothing. He tells us that "for nearly half a century Europeans and Americans have had very few obstructions placed in the way of introducing their wares to the attention of the millions living in and near the treaty ports; and in that time they have not succeeded in securing as great a market for their surplus of manufactured products as that created in half the time in sparsely populated Argentina." He tells us, too, that, in California, "such a thing as Europeans and Americans manufacturing for Chinese consumption is never thought of; and, if the idea ever did occur, it would be speedily abandoned; because if the article were one which this really curious people wanted, they would turn to and make it them-

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selves." And then he remarks that "the workers of Europe and the United States may not take kindly to the prospect of China's vast stores of mineral wealth being converted by Chinese into finished articles for consumption in the Western world." Mr. Young says furthermore:

"It is probable that, in the earlier stages of modern industrial development, the vast surplus energy of the Empire will be utilized in manufacturing for outsiders rather than for Chinese. The latter, until they radically change their habits of living, until they learn to consume wastefully, must necessarily be poor customers for the wares which they may produce in profusion." So he concludes that "it may be safely predicted that the effect of the opening of China to the trade of the world will not be followed by results so confidently expected by people who have surplus products that they are anxious to dispose of at a profit. Instead, the effect of the opening and awakening will probably be to bring disaster upon Western industrialism unless a barrier be interposed to the competition of a race whose most striking characteristic is an entire absence of those desires and aspirations which Americans and Europeans strive to gratify. This notable peculiarity, at this stage of the world's development, may give the Chinese an overwhelming advantage in the struggle for existence, and compel the Western working classes to abandon their ideals."

So it is plain that the Chinese will persist in sending without taking, and that they will not take because they do not want. They do not want because traits, the "result of an intense struggle for existence extending through thousands of years," have trained them to the utmost parsimony in living. Their houses are of "a uniform low level and monotonous appearance, the interiors being as uniform as the exteriors. The meagre furnishing and extreme plainness which mark nearly all interiors are due to a national trait, and are not enforced by lack of things with which to make home beautiful." In communities like the Chinese, he says, "the only incentive to accumulation is a mere desire for subsistence which takes the form of providing for a rainy day. The desire for reputability, which is responsible for the system of conspicuous waste that marks the expenditures of all highly civilized Western peoples, and is accountable for the chief part of the consumption of the manufactured goods in the Western world, is almost unknown in China; and it is doubtful whether such a struggle could be incited in that country."

But, not only in his house, we are informed, are the Chinese con-

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tent to dispense with luxuries, but in the matter of dress the utmost uniformity prevails. Fashion, that incentive to incessant change and unending waste in clothes, is not known among us ; hence, he argues, much less material would be consumed by us than is consumed by Western peoples. Consequently, on the whole, there would be no demand by the Chinese for Western goods ; while the cargoes of utilities which we would deliver upon these shores could only be warded off by high and hostile tariffs, for the enactment and levying of which Mr. Young's article is especially framed. The absurdity of the statements of Mr. Young and of his deductions is so palpable that ordinarily I would not bother to reply to them. But it is an unhappy fact that his views are shared by others. I have said that he has been the first to publish them. He seems to have taken his cue, however, from what he calls a "warning note" sounded by "Bradstreet's Trade Review ;" reciting that "some day China will figure as a competitor in many lines of industries in the markets of the world." This competition is what these champions of monopoly fear.

They are champions of monopoly, though they may not know it. What afflicts them is the unfortunate perversion of ideas which has arisen in the United States through a trade system created by legislative acts in opposition to the natural trend, and which is built upon the error that foreign trade means an exchange of goods for gold. If, therefore, you can have vast quantities of goods going out of your country and great amounts of gold coming in, then you have the acme of what you call "national prosperity." The very statement looked at as a cold formula is ridiculous. Suppose this sort of thing possible. Suppose that in the range of the Tsin-lings we should find a mountain of pure gold, and we should send this stuff to you by shipload, as we probably should, in exchange for your goods. What would be the result? Why, very shortly gold would become so plentiful in your country that its purchasing power would not equal the cost of digging it from the mountain and transporting it, slight as might be that cost in cheap labor in China. As a consequence, your one-sided foreign trade would be shut off entirely, snuffed out by the very process upon which, in lack of wisdom, you wish to base your foreign trade, and which such disputants as Mr. Young are alert to defend. Nay, this mountain of gold idea may not be altogether allegorical. Our alchemists have always held that gold is a compound ; a view now finding sanction among the metallurgists of the United States. It may be that

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we who discovered gunpowder and the fact that the magnet inclines to the pole shall yet discover the reaction which produces gold. When we do you shall have gold to your heart's content ; but, as a result, you will find how quickly you will correct your notion that foreign trade consists of an exchange of goods for gold.

You will then learn the great and universal truth that trade is barter, an exchange of goods for goods. You will learn, too, this potent and sadly overlooked fact, that the more goods that come into a nation the more goods must go out to pay for them. Consequently, that heavy imports are much to be desired ; and all limits and restrictions upon them which impair their free ingress should be as far as possible swept aside ; for, as the night follows the day, heavy imports into your country must be followed by heavy exports.

Mr. Young does us Chinese a keen injustice by his inference that we would send any goods without demanding a full and adequate return ; and he is entirely wrong when he supposes that we want nothing that you have. On the contrary, the Chinese want a vast number of things. No people have desires pitched higher ; no people are more eager to advance. What does Mr. Young suppose to be the incentive which forces the lowest born coolie to strive in salt mines or to pack burdens day by day over long and tedious roads, if it is not that he desires to better himself? Wherever the Chinese have gone they have become distinguished, not alone for industry, but also for the wealth which attends it. Where the Chinese have settled, in all of those kingdoms and communities adjacent to China, they are foremost among the men of wealth and influence. In Corea, the Straits Settlements, and the Philippines they have long constituted the very backbone of commerce and finance.

It is wrong, too, to say that the Chinese do not desire or enjoy luxuries. Mr. Young does not understand us. Our ideas of those things are different from his, but they are none the less expensive. He thinks that because we do not wear starched linen and silk hats, and because our women do not wear lingerie, we consume little. But the gentleman is mistaken. The garb of the ordinary Chinese about equals in cost that of the Americans. Your negroes working in the rice-fields of the South are scarcely better clad than our coolies in similar occupations. Among the upper classes your dress does not compare in cost with ours. If your gentleman of leisure pays $100 for a suit of clothes his habit may be considered expensive : with us the very embroidery on the breast-piece of the jacket frequently costs more. Mr. Young

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must not think that because we do not follow Western styles we have no luxurious tastes. There is nothing in Western styles to tempt us. I have myself donned the European garb on several occasions, and I have always found it stiff, tight, and awkward. It encases the body with an inconvenience which would be intolerable if the wearer knew better.

Mr. Young must not forget that progress in China does not mean our forsaking national habits in such things as clothes and modes of life. In a thousand things we do not bow to the West. Your effects may be different from ours; but they are not superior. We were a civilization more powerful than Rome at her best, in a day when the hills of Rome were pasture, and when the only peoples of the wilderness which is now your land were savages. You cannot expect forms which the wisdom of thousands of years has confirmed to be swept away because you have another fashion. Mr. Chester Holcomb, who was for years a member of the United States Legation at Peking, speaking of our poorer classes, in his work, "The Real Chinaman," p. 311, says: "The Chinese do not live poorly because they desire nothing better. Like all other men, they live as well as their earnings or resources will allow. A wealthy Chinaman dresses as expensively, though in a different style, has a table as luxurious, though his taste may be esteemed peculiar, and generally maintains the same elegance as his Western brother. There, as everywhere else, income must control the expense."[1]

But the fact that Chinese have their own ideals and models does

[1] In John Thompson's book, "Through China with a Camera," there is on page 258 the following description of a Chinese gentleman of to-day and his house: "Mr. Yang was a fair sample of the modern Chinese savant—fat, good-natured, and contented. His house, like most others in China, was approached through a lane hedged in by high brick walls on either side, so that there was nothing to be seen of it from without save the small doorway and the small brick partition about six feet beyond the threshold. Within there was the usual array of courts and halls, reached by narrow, vine-shaded corridors; but each court was tastefully laid out with rockeries, flowers, fish ponds, and pavilions. Really, the place was very picturesque and admirably suited to the disposition of a people affecting seclusion and the pleasures of family life. Its proprietor was an amateur, not only of photography, but of chemistry and electricity too; and he had a laboratory fitted up in the ladies' quarter. In one corner of this laboratory stood a black carved bedstead, curtained with silk and pillowed with wood; while a carved bench, also of black wood, supported a heterogeneous collection of instruments, chemical, electrical, and photographic, besides Chinese and European books. The walls were garnished with enlarged photographs of Yang's family and friends. In a small outer court there was a steam saw-mill, with which the owner had achieved wonders."

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not mean that there is nothing used in Western life that they want. They want, as I have said, thousands of things you have. It is not anticipating too much to opine that the modern American house, with its conveniences and comforts, will be the future house of China. Her cities will be sewered and paved, lighted with electric lamps, and threaded with electric car lines. They will have water-works and fire departments and spacious public edifices. The materials for many of these things must come from the West. But Mr. Young must not forget that before we can procure these things we must first have something to buy them with; and the only things with which we or any other people have to buy are the products of our labor. If, then, our products are of slight value, reckoned upon the unit of population, our exchanges must be correspondingly small, and our trade must be worth little.

This must always be the case so long as China produces by hand labor, and not by machines. What is a machine in relation to labor? It is a multiplication of the power of the hand that runs it. A cobbler will make one pair of shoes in two days. Give him a machine and the skill to run it, and he will make twenty pairs of shoes in the same time. What is this but a multiform increase of the potentiality of his hand? With his bare hands and his tools he had one pair of shoes at the end of two days with which to buy food, clothes, and furniture; with his machine he has twenty pairs, less cost of materials, to devote to the same end. Chinese labor is cheap, but only because its effectiveness is small. Let this be magnified with the power of machines, and it will be dear enough. Chinamen will be prompt to demand their full share of the wealth which their hands produce after they have been potentialized by the machine, just as Mr. Young correctly remarks that, as toilers in the West, they have come to "enjoy better wages than most of the purely laboring classes of the Western world."

Mr. Young, in common with his school, overlooks a salient fact. He concludes that the demand for labor arises from a scarcity of labor's products. Hence, if abundance comes into a nation from abroad, there are consequent congestion and idleness within. It is doubtless this mistake that causes Mr. Young to fear the onslaught of goods which, he argues, will come from China into the United States in free gift and without value exacted in return. The idea of there not being "enough work to go around" was the idea of ancient China, just as it is the present idea of Mr. Young's school. It was this that tabooed machines "because they produce so much that there would be nothing left to

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do;" consequently, dearth was cherished as a national necessity. But such modern statesmen as Prince Ching, Yung Lu, Li Hung Chang, and Wu Ting-fang have perceived differently. With a vision unaffected by interests other than truth, they discern that the greatness of the West exists because of its machines, and that, as the effect of the machine is to multiply produce, so the produce thus created in turn calls upon other mechanisms and other labor.

The starched linen of which Mr. Young speaks would not exist if you did not produce more corn and potatoes than you require for food. Take away your steam-ploughs, cultivators, diggers, and shellers, and if any one wears starched linen some one will have to go hungry to allow it. It is the presence of wealth that creates a demand for wealth. The human mind is so adjusted that as soon as it is gratified it begins to evolve visions of further desires. Demand breeds upon what it feeds; it can never be surfeited. Take your Indian out of his canvas tepee and build him a house, he will forthwith want it furnished; put carpet on his parlor floor, and he will crave a piano; give him china dishes, he will abolish jerked beef and require *ragouts*. This quality is an instinct of nature and exists in all peoples, including the sensitive, alert, calculating, and eager Chinaman.

It is not we who are the adherents of uniformity; it is Mr. Young and his class. Through the installation of monopoly, which seeks to control certain lines of production within the country, Mr. Young would have a crystallized condition that nothing could disturb; and you would go on purchasing the products of your combine which, secure and absolute in its market, would have no need to regard the world's progress in its utility, and would continue indefinitely to supply you with whatever it might please. We, on the other hand, seeking a market for our like product, would be constantly watchful to cheapen its cost and to increase its merit. Left to itself the world of production is constantly changing, constantly working toward higher planes; being unceasingly drawn into accord with the higher reaches of human thought. It is only when its action is obstructed by such "barriers interposed to competition" as Mr. Young asks for, that it subsides into static quiescence. Left to itself it will follow man in all his ideals; interfered with by "barriers" it becomes paralyzed.

After all, what are utilities, or these things we call "goods," which we import and export? They are no other than expressions of human thought impressed upon matter. Looking to your imports and not beyond them, from which countries do you get evidences of the highest

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civilization—from Europe or from Africa, from England or from Turkey? You do not have to look beyond what a people puts forth to fix its position in the scale of being. In truth, by such alone may they be judged; for goods are acts; and, as men or nations act, so are they high or low in the domain of thought. The reason why China is behind the United States in material achievements is, that our masses, as compared with yours, have little potential thought. Our government understands this. It is our effort now to acquire for our people a measure of your knowledge, for that means ascension over nature; and a people is great and powerful just in the degree that it possesses the ability to turn nature in all her departments to the gratification of human desires.

But, aside from these abstractions, we have only to look about us to find refutation of the hypothesis and fear of Mr. Young that "the Western world will not be benefited by Chinese development." A few years ago, when our neighbor Japan—a much smaller nation than our own, and, therefore, more sensitive to Western influences—manifested signs of the revival which has since so distinguished it, Mr. Young attacked that kingdom just as he is now assailing us. He had then the same fears that the United States would be swamped by the goods of Japan, just as he now expresses fear that it will be deluged with the products of China. If his doctrines had been believed they would have driven Japanese trade away from San Francisco through the erection of those "interposing barriers" which he so much desires to be built against China, with the result that there would have been lost to the city and country about $15,000,000 of sales to Japan a year. But his alarms were not heeded; and the trade with Japan increased, because, by the introduction and use of machines, the country, which produces little or no gold, came to have something to buy with In 1898, it bought 40,000,000 yen worth from this country, though only four years before it could buy but 6,000,000 yen worth. In 1898, you took from them 47,000,000 yen worth of goods; so that you have shown a disposition to increase your purchases just as they have increased their imports from you.

If Mr. Young's conclusion, that the development of one nation is harmful to the condition of another nation, were correct, you would naturally expect to find the part of the United States nearest the developing nations showing the worst effects of the blight. What part of your country has the most industry, business, finance, development, the side that fronts Europe, or the side that faces quiescent

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and undeveloped Asia? If you could put the United States on a turntable and twist it around until the Golden Gate opposed the English Channel and New York was before Hong Kong, would San Francisco be benefited or damaged by its contiguity to Europe? Would New York benefit China or would China sink back from her rising evolution? Obviously, Mr. Young's theories are thin indeed; he has against him the proved experiment of unfolded Europe. Since 1888 England has advanced prodigiously. You are now taking from her vastly more than you took then; yet, in 1888 you sold to her but $32,000,000 worth, while in 1898 this amount was increased to $74,000,000. Germany has kept full pace with Europe's advance, a fact made manifest in the great increase of her exports to the United States. Yet, in 1878 you sold her $16,500,000, and in 1898, $32,700,000. England and Germany and France and Italy have increased in their power to buy from you; and the size of their purchase bills has promptly manifested this enlargement of their ability. Their power to purchase, however, is not the power to send gold, which would be all drained out of their countries in one year's buying, but the power to send to you the things which your civilization desires.

So will it be with China. The trade which now only amounts to some thirty-two millions both ways is so small because of China's inability to make larger purchases. When we multiply the things you want, that same variation will excite in us a desire for the things you have. If our goods are cheap, so much the better for you. We thereby bring you more of labor than you return to us. The teamster gives to the lawyer the product of thirty days' toil for an hour of the lawyer's thought. Both are benefited; but, in the aspect of things, who acquires the higher advantage from the transaction? We may give you abundance of our goods for little of your goods; but you will be the more favored.

Mr. Young takes a narrow view when he measures the possibilities of the Chinese Empire by the little group of people in San Francisco's Chinatown. They consume little of American wares, it is true; for few expect to remain here permanently. Most of them look forward to the time when, gathering their accumulated stores, they can return to China. This is caused by two considerations: (1) the hostile feeling that exists against the Chinese here, due to the agitations of labor leaders and political charlatans; and (2) the obstructive legislation influenced thereby, with the result that their freedom is curtailed and their peace and property are made insecure. Moreover, the difference

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in the purchasing power of their money here and in China impels them to aspire to live in the country where their wealth will give them more return. All of these conditions will undoubtedly cease to exist.

I do not believe that the American people will always be deluded as to the value and necessity of Chinese residents, or that the types of men who now influence thought on that subject will continue to find credence ; and I am very sure that, in not many years, the Chinaman's money earned in the United States will buy him little more in China than here. For, the cost of living will rise with the rate of wages; and in China both will presently reach the American standard. I do not expect this change to take place slowly. The movement now progressing in China has attained marvellous speed ; and, with the aid of the kindly offices of the Western peoples, especially the people of the United States, and under the guidance of the present sagacious and efficient government of China, we shall continue our progress, advancing ever upward, making ourselves more and more fitted to be a benefit to the world and to merit the highest esteem in the family of nations.

Ho Yow.

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THE HAMPTON ROADS CONFERENCE.

ONE of the most interesting episodes of the war between the States was the informal conference in Hampton Roads, on the 3d of February, 1865. It was held on board a steamer anchored near Fortress Monroe; and the participants were, on the one hand, President Lincoln and William H. Seward, Secretary of State of the United States, and, on the other, Alexander H. Stephens, Robert M. T. Hunter, and John A. Campbell, commissioners appointed by President Davis. There has long been considerable misapprehension in the public mind as to the origin, objects, and results of that conference. As I was a member of the Confederate Congress at that time, and had, to some extent, an inside view of the situation, I propose to give my recollection of the incident.

In the beginning of the year 1865 the prospects of the Southern Confederacy were gloomy indeed. Grant, with his hosts, had swung around upon a new base, and was at City Point, on the James River, threatening Petersburg and Richmond, then defended by the Army of Northern Virginia under the incomparable Lee. That army, during the preceding year, had covered itself with imperishable glory in the Wilderness, at Spottsylvania Court House, and at Cold Harbor. Numbering less than 60,000 men it had inflicted a loss of more than 50,000 upon the enemy in the campaign, resulting in Grant's change of base; but, with inadequate supplies of food and clothing, it was then suffering all the discomforts and hardships of winter in the trenches around Petersburg and Richmond. Sheridan, in the valley of Virginia, with a powerful and well-equipped army, had driven back Early with his little band of Confederates, and had completely devastated that beautiful and fertile region. Sherman, after destroying Atlanta and laying waste the surrounding country, was at Savannah, with an army of 65,000 men, prepared to march through the Carolinas and to form a junction with Grant in Virginia. Such was the military situation, when, in the early part of January, 1865, Mr. Francis P. Blair, Sr., a gentleman of great ability and acknowledged influence with the administration at Washington, made his appearance at Richmond.

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He brought with him no credentials, but exhibited to Mr. Davis the following card :

"December 28, 1864.
Allow the Bearer, F. P. Blair, Sr., to
pass our lines, go South and return.
(Signed) A. LINCOLN."

After a private interview with Mr. Davis, Mr. Blair returned to Washington, and in a few days came again to Richmond. Another consultation was held, in the course of which Mr. Blair suggested to Mr. Davis that a suspension of hostilities might be brought about by a secret military convention between the belligerents for the purpose of maintaining the Monroe Doctrine on this continent, and thereby preventing the threatened establishment of an empire by France in Mexico. He frankly declared that, in his opinion, the final result of the proposed military convention and the suspension of hostilities would be the restoration of the Union. On January 12, Mr. Davis handed to Mr. Blair the following letter :

"RICHMOND, VIRGINIA, *January* 12, 1865.

F. P. BLAIR, Esq.

Sir : I have deemed it proper and probably desirable to you to give you in this form the substance of the remarks made by me to be repeated by you to President Lincoln, etc. I have no disposition to find obstacles in forms and am willing now, as heretofore, to enter into negotiations for the restoration of peace. I am ready to send a commission whenever I have reason to suppose it will be received, or to receive a commission if the United States Government shall choose to send one. Notwithstanding the rejection of our former offers, I would, if you could promise that a commission, minister, or other agent would be received, appoint one immediately and renew the effort to enter into a conference with a view to secure peace to the two countries.

Yours, etc.,
JEFFERSON DAVIS."

On January 18, Mr. Lincoln delivered to Mr. Blair the following communication, with the understanding that it should be shown to Mr. Davis :

"WASHINGTON, D. C., *January* 18, 1865.

F. P. BLAIR, Esq.

Sir : You, having shown me Mr. Davis's letter to you of the 12th instant, you may say to him that I have constantly been, am now, and shall continue, ready to receive any agent whom he or any other influential person now resisting the national authority may informally send me with a view of securing peace to the people of our common country.

Yours, etc.,
A. LINCOLN."

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After seeing the foregoing letter, and after consultation with his Cabinet, Mr. Davis, on the 28th of January, appointed Alexander H. Stephens, Robert M. T. Hunter, and John A. Campbell as commissioners to proceed to Washington, and to hold an informal conference with Mr. Lincoln upon the subject referred to in his letter of the 18th of January, addressed to Mr. Blair. It was intended that the affair should be conducted with the utmost secrecy. But the absence of such prominent officials necessarily attracted attention, and the public soon ascertained that an important movement was on foot. At that time Mr. Stephens was Vice-President, Mr. Hunter was President *pro tempore* of the Senate, and Judge Campbell was Assistant Secretary of War. On January 29, the commissioners went from Richmond to Petersburg; and on the following day they addressed this communication to Gen. Grant:

"PETERSBURG, VIRGINIA, *January* 30, 1865.

LIEUT.-GEN. U. S. GRANT,
Commanding Armies of the United States.

Sir: We desire to pass your lines under safe conduct, and to proceed to Washington to hold a conference with President Lincoln upon the subject of the existing war, and with a view of ascertaining upon what terms it may be terminated in pursuance of the course indicated by him in his letter to Mr. Blair of January 18, 1865, of which we presume you have a copy, and if not, we wish to see you in person if convenient, and to confer with you on the subject.

Very respectfully yours,
ALEXANDER H. STEPHENS,
J. A. CAMPBELL,
R. M. T. HUNTER."

In reply, the following was received by the commissioners at Petersburg, dated at Headquarters Army of the United States, January 31, 1865:

"*Gentlemen:* Your communication of yesterday requesting an interview with myself, and a safe conduct to Washington and return, is received. I will instruct the commanding officer of the forces near Petersburg, notifying you at what part of the lines, and the time when and where conveyances will be ready for you. Your letter to me has been telegraphed to Washington for instructions. I have no doubt that before you arrive at my headquarters an answer will be received directing me to comply with your request. Should a different reply be received, I promise you a safe and immediate return within your own lines.

Yours very respectfully,
U. S. GRANT, *Lieutenant-General.*"

In the afternoon of the same day, the commissioners were met at a point on the Federal lines previously designated by Lieut.-Col. Bab-

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cock, with an escort, and escorted to Gen. Grant's headquarters at City Point. They were received by Gen. Grant with marked courtesy and civility, and remained with him two days before they could arrive at an understanding with the authorities at Washington as to the conditions upon which they should be allowed to proceed. On February 1, Maj. Thomas T. Eckert, who had been sent with instructions from Mr. Lincoln as to the requests of the commissioners, addressed to them a letter in which he informed them that, if they passed through the United States military lines, it would be understood that they did so for the purpose of an informal conference on the basis of a paper prepared by Mr. Lincoln, a copy of which was placed in their hands.

Without going into all the details of the correspondence between the commissioners and Maj. Eckert, it is sufficient to state that, on February 1, Maj. Eckert telegraphed to Washington that the reply of the commissioners was not satisfactory, and that he had notified them that they could not proceed further unless they complied with the conditions expressed in Mr. Lincoln's letter. On February 2, the following telegram was sent by Gen. Grant:

"To Hon. E. M. Stanton,
Secretary of War.

Now that the interview between Maj. Eckert, under his written instructions, and Mr. Stephens and party has ended, I will state confidentially, but not officially to become a matter of record, that I am convinced, upon conversation with Messrs. Stephens and Hunter, that their intentions are good and their desire sincere to restore peace and union. I have not felt myself at liberty to express even views of my own or to account for my reticence. This has placed me in an awkward position which I could have avoided by not seeing them in the first instance. I fear now their going back without any expression to any one in authority will have a bad influence. At the same time I recognize the difficulties in the way of receiving these informal commissioners at this time and I do not know what to recommend. I am sorry, however, that Mr. Lincoln cannot have an interview with the two named in this dispatch, if not all three now within our lines. Their letter was all that the President's instructions contemplated to secure their safe conduct, if they had used the same language to Capt. Eckert.

U. S. Grant, *Lieutenant-General.*"

As soon as the foregoing telegram was shown to Mr. Lincoln, he telegraphed to Gen. Grant as follows:

"To Lieut.-Gen. Grant,
City Point, Virginia.

Say to the gentlemen that I will meet them personally at Fortress Monroe as soon as I can get there.

A. Lincoln."

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At the same time, Mr. Lincoln sent to Mr. Seward, who had already gone to Fortress Monroe, the following telegram :

"To Hon. William H. Seward,
Fortress Monroe, Virginia.
Induced by a dispatch from General Grant, I join you at Fortress Monroe as soon as I can come. A. Lincoln."

On the morning of February 3, the commissioners met President Lincoln and Secretary Seward on board a steamer anchored in Hampton Roads near Fortress Monroe. Mr. Stephens and Mr. Lincoln had been acquaintances and friends in former years. They had been in the House of Representatives at the same time, had belonged to the same political party, and, as members of the Congressional Taylor Club, had coöperated in the nomination and election of Zachary Taylor to the presidency in 1848.

At the beginning of the interview, Mr. Stephens, addressing himself to Mr. Lincoln, made pleasant allusion to their former acquaintance and friendship, to which Mr. Lincoln cordially responded. After mutual inquiries as to former congressional associates, Mr. Stephens introduced the business of the meeting by asking Mr. Lincoln if there were no way of putting an end to the existing troubles and bringing about a restoration of good feeling and harmony between the different sections of the country. At this point Mr. Seward interposed and said it was understood that the conference should be informal, that there should be no clerk or secretary, and no record made of anything said. The commissioners having assented Mr. Stephens repeated his inquiry; and, in reply, Mr. Lincoln said there was but one way that he knew of, and that was for those who were resisting the laws of the Union to cease resistance. Mr. Stephens replied, in substance, that they had been induced to believe there might be some other question, some Continental question, that might divert the attention of both parties for a time from the questions involved in the existing strife until the passions on both sides might cool, when both would be in better temper to come to an amicable and proper adjustment, etc.

Mr. Lincoln at once understood Mr. Stephens as referring to what Mr. Blair had suggested in his interview with Mr. Davis. He said it was proper to state at the beginning that whatever Mr. Blair had said was of his own accord and without the least authority from him ; that when Mr. Blair applied for a passport to go to Richmond, and desired to present certain views, he had declined to hear them ; that he had

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given the passport, but without giving Mr. Blair any authority whatever to speak for him ; that when Mr. Blair returned from Richmond, bringing with him Mr. Davis's letter, he had given the one alluded to in the application of the commissioners for permission to cross the lines ; that he was always willing to hear propositions for peace on the conditions of that letter, and on no other; that the restoration of the Union was a *sine qua non* with him, and hence his instructions that no conference was to be held except upon that basis.

After a short pause in the conversation Mr. Stephens continued to urge the adoption of the line of policy indicated by Mr. Blair, and claimed that it would most probably result in a restoration of the Union without further bloodshed. Among other things he said that the principles of the Monroe Doctrine were directly involved in the contest then going on in Mexico ; that the administration at Washington, according to all accounts, was decidedly opposed to the establishment of an empire in Mexico by France, and wished to maintain the right of self-government to all peoples on this continent against the dominion or control of any European power. Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Seward concurred in the statement that such was the feeling of a majority of the northern people.

"Then," said Mr. Stephens, "could not both parties in our contest come to an understanding and agreement to postpone their present strife by a suspension of hostilities between themselves until this principle is maintained in behalf of Mexico? And might it not, when successfully sustained there, naturally, and almost inevitably, lead to a peaceful and harmonious solution of their own difficulties? Could any pledge now given make a permanent restoration or reorganization of the Union more probable, or even so probable, as such a result would?"

Mr. Lincoln replied, with earnestness, that he could entertain no proposition for ceasing active military operations which was not based upon a pledge first given for the ultimate restoration of the Union. He had fully considered the question of an armistice, and could not give his consent to any proposition of that sort on the basis suggested. The settlement of existing difficulties was a question of supreme importance ; and the only basis on which he would entertain a proposition for a settlement was the recognition and reëstablishment of the national authority throughout the land. As the commissioners had no authority to give any such pledge the conference seemed to be at an end. According to an understanding between the commissioners

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before entering into the conference that, if they failed in securing an armistice, they would then endeavor to ascertain upon what terms the administration at Washington would be willing to end the war, Judge Campbell inquired in what way the settlement for a restoration of the Union was to be made. He wished to know something of the details.

Mr. Seward then said he desired that any answer to Judge Campbell's inquiry might be postponed until the general ideas advanced by Mr. Stephens might be more fully developed. There was a general acquiescence, and Mr. Stephens proceeded to elaborate his views. They were substantially as follows :

That the Monroe Doctrine assumed the position that no European power should impose governments upon any peoples on this continent against their will ; that the principle of the sovereign right of local self-government was peculiarly sacred to the people of the United States as well as to the people of the Confederate States ; that the Emperor of France was at that time attempting to violate this great principle in Mexico; that the suspension of hostilities and allowance of time for the blood of our people on both sides to cool toward each other would probably lead the public mind to a clearer understanding of those principles which ought to constitute the basis of the settlement of existing difficulties; that the settlement of the Mexican question in this way would necessarily lead to a peaceful settlement of our own ; that whenever it should be determined that this right of local self-government was the principle on which all American institutions rested, all the States might reasonably be expected to return of their own accord to their former relations to the Union, just as they had come together at first by their own consent and for their mutual interests ; that we might become indeed and in truth an ocean-bound Federal Republic, under the operation of this Continental Regulator —the ultimate, absolute sovereignty of each State. He concluded by saying that this Mexican question might afford a very opportune occasion for reaching a proper solution of our own troubles without any further effusion of fraternal blood.

Mr. Seward, while admitting that the views presented by Mr. Stephens had something specious about them in theory, argued at considerable length to show that practically no system of government founded upon them could be successfully worked, and that the Union could never be restored or maintained on that basis. He then inquired of Mr. Stephens as to the details of the plan he had in view for effecting the proposed purpose.

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Mr. Stephens replied that he had no fixed plan, but there were several which might be suggested. The whole matter might be easily arranged by a military convention known only to the authorities at Washington and Richmond. This convention could be made to embrace not only a suspension of actual hostilities on all the frontier lines, but also other matters involving the execution of the laws in States, having two sets of authorities, one recognized by the Confederate States, the other adhering to the National Government. All these matters of detail might be easily adjusted if they should first determine upon an armistice for that purpose.

Mr. Hunter said that there was not unanimity in the South upon the subject of undertaking the maintenance of the Monroe Doctrine, and it was not probable that any arrangement could be made by which the Confederates would agree to join in sending any portion of their army into Mexico. In that view his colleagues on the commission fully concurred. Mr. Lincoln, while admitting that, as President, he might properly enter into a military convention for some of the purposes proposed, repeated his determination to do nothing which would suspend military operations, unless it was first agreed that the United States authority was to be restored throughout the country. That was the first question to be settled. He could enter into no treaty, convention, or stipulation with the Confederate States, jointly or separately, upon that or any other subject, except upon the basis first settled that the Union was to be restored. Any such agreement or stipulation would be a quasi-recognition of the States then in arms against the National Government as a separate power. That he never could do.

Judge Campbell then renewed his inquiry as to how restoration was to take place, supposing that the Confederate States were consenting to it. Mr. Lincoln replied: By disbanding their armies, and permitting the national authorities to resume their functions. Mr. Seward then said that Mr. Lincoln could not express himself more clearly or forcibly in reference to that question than he had done in his message to Congress in December, 1864, and proceeded to state its substance from memory.

Judge Campbell said that the war had necessarily given rise to questions which ought to be adjusted before a harmonious restoration of former relations could properly be made. He referred to the disbandment of the army, which would require time, and to the Confiscation Acts, on both sides, under which property had been sold, the title

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to which would be affected by the facts existing when the war ended, unless provided for by stipulations. Mr. Seward replied that, as to all questions involving rights of property, the courts would determine, and that Congress would no doubt be liberal in making restitution of confiscated property, or providing indemnity.

Mr. Stephens inquired what would be the status of that portion of the slave population in the Confederate States which had not then become free under the Emancipation Proclamation, or, in other words, what effect that proclamation would have upon the entire black population. Mr. Lincoln said that that was a judicial question, and that he did not know how the courts would decide it. His own opinion, was that, as the Proclamation was a war measure and would have effect only from its being an exercise of the war power, as soon as the war ended it would be inoperative for the future. It would be held to apply to such slaves only as had come under its operation while it was in active exercise. That was his individual opinion, but the courts might decide differently.

Mr. Seward said there were only about 200,000 slaves who, up to that time, had come under the actual operation of the Proclamation, and who were then in the enjoyment of their freedom under it ; so that if the war should then cease, the status of much the larger portion of the slaves would be subject to judicial construction. He also called attention to the proposed Constitutional Amendment providing for the immediate abolition of slavery throughout the United States. He said that had been done as a war measure, and if the war were then to cease, it would probably not be adopted by a sufficient number of States to make it a part of the Constitution. In answer to an inquiry by Mr. Stephens, whether the Confederate States would be admitted to representation in Congress if they should abandon the war, Mr. Lincoln said his own individual opinion was that they ought to be, and he thought that they would be, but that he could not enter into any stipulation on that subject.

Mr. Stephens having urged the importance of coming to some understanding as to the method of procedure in case the Confederate States should entertain the proposition of a return to the Union, Mr. Lincoln repeated that he could not enter into any agreement on that subject with parties in arms against the Government. Mr. Hunter, in illustrating the propriety of the Executive entering into agreements with persons in arms against the rightful public authority, referred to instances of that character between Charles I of England and the

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people in arms against him. Mr. Lincoln said he did not profess to be posted in history, and would turn Mr. Hunter over to Mr. Seward on all such matters. "All I distinctly recollect," said he, "about Charles I is, that he lost his head in the end."

Mr. Lincoln subsequently discussed fully his Emancipation Proclamation. He said that, in the beginning, it had not been his intention to interfere with slavery in the States; that he never would have done it if he had not been compelled by necessity to do it, to maintain the Union; that the subject presented many difficult and perplexing questions; that he had hesitated for some time, and had resorted to that measure only when driven to it by public necessity; that he had been in favor of the prohibition by the general Government of the extension of slavery into the territories, but did not think the Government possessed power over the subject in the States except as a war measure; and that he had always been in favor of gradual emancipation. Mr. Seward also spoke at length upon the progress of the anti-slavery sentiment of the country, and said that what he had thought would require forty or fifty years of agitation to accomplish would certainly be attained in a much shorter time.

Other matters relating to the evils of immediate emancipation, especially the suffering which would necessarily attend the old and infirm, as well as the women and children, were then referred to. These were fully admitted by Mr. Lincoln; but as to them he illustrated his position with an anecdote about the Illinois farmer and his hogs. An Illinois farmer was congratulating himself with a neighbor upon a great discovery he had made, by which he would economize much time and labor in gathering and taking care of the food crop for his hogs, as well as trouble in looking after and feeding them during the winter. "What is it?" said the neighbor. "Why, it is," said the farmer, "to plant plenty of potatoes, and when they are mature, without either digging or housing them, turn the hogs in the field, and let them get their own food as they want it." "But," said the neighbor, "how will they do when the winter comes and the ground is hard frozen?" "Well," said the farmer, "let 'em root."

Mr. Hunter inquired of Mr. Lincoln what, according to his idea, would be the result of the restoration of the Union as to West Virginia. Mr. Lincoln said he could only give his individual opinion, which was, that West Virginia would continue to be recognized as a separate State in the Union. Mr. Hunter then very forcibly summed up the conclusions which seemed to him to be logically deducible from

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the conference. In his judgment they amounted to nothing as a basis of peace but an unconditional surrender on the part of the Confederate States and their people.

Mr. Seward insisted that no words like "unconditional surrender" had been used; none importing or justly implying degradation or humiliation to the people of the Confederate States. He did not think that yielding to the execution of the laws under the Constitution of the United States, with all its guarantees and securities for personal and political rights as they might be declared by the courts, could be properly considered as unconditional submission to conquerors, or as having anything humiliating in it. After considerable discussion on that point between Mr. Hunter and Mr. Seward, Mr. Lincoln said that, so far as the Confiscation Acts and other penal acts were concerned, their enforcement would be left entirely to him, and he should exercise the power of the Executive with the utmost liberality. He said he should be willing to remunerate the southern people for their slaves; that he believed the people of the North were as responsible for slavery as the people of the South; that if the war should then cease with the voluntary abolition of slavery by the States, he should be in favor individually of the payment by the Government of a fair indemnity for the loss to the owners; that he believed this feeling was very extensive at the North, but on this subject he could give no assurance and enter into no stipulation.

The conference, after a session of about four hours, then terminated, and the parties took formal and friendly leave of each other. Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Seward returned to Washington, and Messrs. Stephens, Hunter, and Campbell went back to City Point, under the escort of Col. Babcock. There they met Gen. Grant again; and he was evidently disappointed that nothing had been accomplished in the effort to bring about a suspension of hostilities.

It is proper to say that the facts here stated have been gathered from the report of the commissioners bearing date February 5, 1865; from the message of Mr. Davis to the Confederate Senate and House of Representatives, communicated on February 6, 1865; from the message of Mr. Lincoln to the United States House of Representatives, sent in answer to a resolution soon after his return from Fortress Monroe; from conversations held with one of the commissioners; and from the narrative of Mr. Stephens, published soon after the termination of the war.

The failure of the conference was a great disappointment, not only

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to the authorities at Richmond, but to the people generally. Mr. Davis, in his message to the Confederate Senate and House of Representatives transmitting the report of the commissioners, accepted the action of President Lincoln and Secretary Seward as showing that "they refused to enter into negotiations with the Confederate States, or any of them separately, or to give to our people any other terms or guarantees than those which the conqueror may grant, or to permit us to have peace on any other basis than our unconditional submission to their rule, coupled with the acceptance of their recent legislation on the subject of the relations between the white and black populations of each State."

In a public address delivered before a large audience at the African Church in Richmond, soon after the return of the commissioners, he aroused the people to the highest pitch of enthusiasm, and incited them to renewed determination to continue the struggle and to stake all upon the issue. His speech was characterized by the boldest and most defiant tone, and was delivered in his loftiest and most captivating style. As a specimen of real oratory it has never been surpassed—not even by the fiery eloquence of Rienzi when he stirred the hearts of the Romans to their inmost depths, nor by the burning words of Demosthenes when he moved the Athenians to cry out against Philip. There were other speakers on the occasion referred to, among them Gustavus A. Henry, the Eagle Orator of Tennessee, then a member of the Senate, and the silver-tongued Judah P. Benjamin, of Louisiana, then Secretary of State. The circumstances under which the meeting was held and the fervid eloquence of the speakers made a profound impression, and those present with one heart and one voice resolved that there was no alternative left but to fight on to the bitter end. The end came within two months, when Gen. Lee and the remnant of his gallant army, having fought to the point of complete exhaustion, furled their banners, and laid down their arms at Appomattox.

JOHN GOODE.

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AMERICA'S FIRST AND LATEST COLONY.

CONCERNING many political occurrences in Samoa during the past twelve or fourteen months, I hold opinions which are probably not less defensible because they happen for the moment to be shared only by a small minority. For reasons set forth at some length in an article entitled "The Samoan Crisis and its Causes," contributed to the May number of the "Fortnightly Review," I have condemned the decision of ex-Chief-Justice Chambers, in the matter of the kingship, as bad in law, contrary to the public interest, and opposed to all ideas of equity and reason. A short while after this article was published, I was enabled to investigate on the spot, and from many points of view, the remarkable series of events which preceded and followed the delivery of the judgment. I made the acquaintance of most of the actors, "star" and supernumerary, who had played rôles in the medley-drama of intrigue, farce, and comedy; I visited the places at which history had been made—consulates, mission-houses, villages and plantations ravaged by fire, and other resources of civilization; and I was an interested, not unfriendly, critic of the proceedings of the Joint Commissioners, who arrived at Apia with a cargo of good intentions, and departed leaving confusion worse confounded.

Of these things, however, it is not my purpose to write here; nor shall I do more than allude to a notable absence, in the international arrangements recently arrived at, of moral considerations and of reference to treaty and other obligations to the Samoans. In an article, "Gains and Losses in the Pacific," which appeared in the January number of the "Fortnightly Review," these questions are discussed, not unfairly, I hope, nor with greater severity than the occasion justifies. The more pleasing task which I now essay is to offer an historical sketch of American rights in Samoa as they have heretofore been recognized, and to describe briefly the dependencies to which, somewhat unexpectedly, the republic has fallen heir.

The signature at London, on November 14, 1899, of the Anglo-German Convention, "for the settlement of the Samoan and other questions," has cleared the way for the full and undisturbed enjoy-

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ment by the United States of rights which have been practically in abeyance for more than twenty years. Pago-Pago, indeed, merits very conspicuous attention from commentators on the political development of the republic. Its "cession" to Commander R. W. Meade, of the "Narragansett," in 1872, and the treaty of Washington, signed six years later, constituted the port, to all intents and purposes, the first-born of America's over-sea colonies. These events, moreover, were original symptoms of that long-threatened revolution in national sentiment which was quickened by the war with Spain and now finds expression in a policy of expansion.

To President Grant and the aforesaid naval officer belong the credit of initiating the movement. In March, 1873, during the former's occupancy of the Executive Mansion, Col. A. R. Steinberger was appointed by the Department of State "special agent of the government to visit and report upon" the Samoan Islands. This mission appears to have been suggested by certain "highly respectable commercial persons," who represented that great opportunities were offered of increasing the trade relations of America with the Western Pacific, and also by the circumstance that, in the preceding year, Capt. Meade, acting of course on his own responsibility, had entered into an agreement with Mauga and other Samoans. These persons described themselves as "the principal chiefs of the ten houses of the island of Tutuila," who had formed a league for their mutual welfare and protection, and were entitled by office to grant to the Government of the United States the exclusive privilege of establishing a coaling station in the port of Pago-Pago. In May, 1872, the agreement was communicated by the President to the Senate—which, however, took no action in the matter—with the remark that he would not hesitate to recommend its approval but for the promise of protection to which it seemed to pledge the republic.

Col. Steinberger duly visited the islands, returned, and presented an elaborate report to Mr. Hamilton Fish, then Secretary of State; and this report, with inclosures, was, in April, 1874, transmitted by the President to the two Houses of Congress. Innumerable documents have since been written concerning Samoa and its people. Of these, some have sought to disparage the value of their earliest predecessor; others flatly contradict, often with excellent reason, the accuracy of many of its conclusions; yet, to this day, Col. Steinberger's report remains a monument to the shrewdness and indefatigable energy of its author, one of the most interesting and astute summaries of matters

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connected with the islands. To Col. Steinberger's return to Samoa, his adventurous, and not too honorable career, as premier of the native government, his arrest and deportation on board a British man-of-war, it is unnecessary to refer more than casually. Let it suffice to say, that of all the foreigners who, at different times, have essayed to sway the destinies of Samoa, he best understood the needs of the islands and the character of their people.

The administration of Col. Steinberger, though short-lived, was the only really efficient and consistent one which Samoa has enjoyed since the advent of a white population ; and its fall must be attributed in large measure to the opposition of citizens of other nationalities, envious of the colonel's popularity among the natives, and apprehensive lest it might foreshadow American ascendency in the councils of the islands. Ignoring the kaleidoscopic changes of Samoan politics, and the naïve candor of Stevenson's humorist-politician—"I never saw so good a place as this Apia. You can be in a new conspiracy every day"—outside critics have frequently dilated upon the brief memories of the Samoans. So much, however, may be said, that, among the older natives, Col. Steinberger's services in behalf of Samoa are yet spoken of in terms of grateful appreciation. His work, moreover, bore fruit in the outburst of national joy which greeted the signature of the Washington treaty, and in the long-continued reliance upon American friendliness and protection, which, despite the many opportunities offered for its withdrawal, prevail even to the present day.

Prior to the conclusion of the treaty of Washington, and in order to prevent supposed attempts on the part of Great Britain to annex the islands, the United States flag had twice been raised over the Samoan standard by consular representatives of the republic, and in harmony with the desires of great majorities of the Samoan people. It was, therefore, not surprising, when Le Mamea was commissioned to proceed to Washington as representative of the native government, that his countrymen believed they were on the point of securing a formal recognition of American protection. When, in July, 1878, the ambassador returned with a treaty and with glowing accounts of his reception in the United States, the joy of the Samoans knew no bounds. Soon, however, chilling doubts were spread as to the actual value of the document ; and Le Mamea was called upon to appear before gatherings of the chiefs, and subjected to a close examination regarding the significance and probable operation of the various clauses. As was very natural, under the circumstances, the Samoans were particularly

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solicitous as to the weight attached by the other contracting party to the following, the first and fifth, articles of the treaty :

"There shall be perpetual peace and friendship between the Government of the United States and the Government of the Samoan Islands."

"If, unhappily, any difficulties should have arisen or shall hereafter arise between the Samoan Government and any other government in amity with the United States, the government of the latter will employ its good offices for the purpose of adjusting those differences upon a satisfactory and solid foundation."

The document in which these words occur is not only interesting at the present moment, because of the notable changes about to be accomplished in the administration of Samoa ; it is also of great historic value as the first treaty of its kind to be signed by the United States. In the account of its formal ratification by the Samoan chiefs and people, forwarded to Mr. Seward by Mr. Gustavus Goward, then commercial agent of the United States, I read that Commander Rogers, of the steamship "Adams," promised, that "in case of trouble America would extend to them her good offices," as provided by the treaty, and that Mr. Goward himself, representing the State Department, contributed the following among other remarks to the oratory of the occasion :

"After many years of petition, America, in her faith in the brotherhood of mankind, has heard your pathetic appeals, and, seven thousand miles away, has stretched forth her powerful hand to your aid. Other people, like yourselves, struggling for independence and national position, have in vain sought her aid and recognition. You have the honor to be the first to induce her to extend her good offices and active influence to islands so far distant. By such treaties, nations with each other bind more closely the ties of friendship and increase their commercial intercourse. The readiness and unanimity with which you have ratified this treaty, free from influence or force on our part, will be a most pleasing duty for me to report to the United States Government."

Before seven years had elapsed, a situation was created which served to test the value to Samoa of the phrase "good offices." In January, 1885, as a counter-demonstration to the policy pursued by the German consular representative at Apia, the United States Consul raised the flag of his country and proclaimed a protectorate. The act was promptly disavowed by the American Government ; but at the same time steps were taken to discharge in some measure the obligations which it was felt were imposed by the treaty of 1878. It is unnecessary in the present article to refer more than incidentally to the events which followed : the despatch of commissioners to Samoa ; the Washington conference ; the German war against Malietoa Laupepa ;

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the destruction of the United States and German squadrons in Apia Bay; the conference at Berlin; the restoration of Laupepa; the rebellions of Mataafa and the younger Tamasese; and the oft-recurring occasions when the American Government or its local representative for the time being was obliged to take ground displeasing either to Great Britain or Germany, or both. One of the most complete epitomes of Samoan history during these troubled days will be found in a report, dated May 9, 1894, from Secretary Gresham to President Cleveland. No doubt to many readers the document is already familiar; still I may be excused if I quote the following conclusions, to point a moral and adorn the tale:

"It is in our relations to Samoa that we have made the first departure from our traditional and well-established policy of avoiding entangling alliances with foreign powers in relation to objects remote from this hemisphere. If the departure was justified, there must be some evidence of detriment suffered before its adoption or of advantage since gained, to demonstrate the fact. If no such evidence can be found, we are confronted with the serious responsibility of having, without sufficient grounds, imperilled a policy which is not only coeval with our Government, but to which may, in great measure, be ascribed the peace, the prosperity, and the moral influence of the United States."

Apart, however, from such considerations, which Mr. Gresham applied chiefly to the Act of Berlin, the treaty of 1878 claims peculiar attention as the basis on which rested for many years United States rights to Pago-Pago, the earliest and, probably, at no distant date, one of the most prized of America's over-sea possessions. Heretofore, misconception has frequently prevailed respecting the precise character of the relations between the United States and the much talked of harbor. The republic has certainly not owned it; all her real treaty-rights being conveyed in the following concession:

"Naval vessels of the United States shall have the privilege of entering and using the port of Pago-Pago and establishing therein and on the shores thereof a station for coal and other naval supplies for their naval and commercial marine, and the Samoan Government will hereafter neither exercise nor authorize any jurisdiction within said port adverse to such rights of the United States or restrictive thereof."

Though the United States has repeatedly, and certainly very properly, declared, that it would regard as an unfriendly act any purchase by another nation of lands for naval purposes on the shores of Pago-Pago, I much doubt whether the Samoan Government could have been legally prevented from granting to Great Britain rights very similar to those conceded to America. In this view I am fortified by Article 8

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of a treaty of friendship, etc., between England and Samoa, signed at Apia, in 1879, and ratified the following year. The first-mentioned power was thereby authorized to establish on the shores of any Samoan harbor, to be subsequently designated, a naval station and coaling depot, under the provisions of the Washington treaty, with the restriction that "this article shall not apply to the harbors of Apia or Saluafata (the latter already ceded to Germany), or to that part of the harbor of Pago-Pago which may hereafter be selected by the Government of the United States."

That the government and people of the republic were sometimes in doubt as to the extent of the national rights is evidenced by a discussion in the Senate early in 1889, to which Mr. Bayard contributed by forwarding to Mr. John Sherman, as Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, a copy of the deed of transfer of the harbor and two explanatory notes by Mr. Goward. The deed, dated August 5, 1878, and signed on board the "Adams" by four chiefs acting as commissioners on behalf of the Samoan Government, and selected (as explained by Mr. Goward) because they were "individually owners of property along the shore of the harbor," transferred to the Government of the United States, in accordance with the provisions of the Washington treaty, "the privilege of using the port of Pago-Pago and the shores thereof." Mr. Goward expressed the opinion—which subsequent events showed was not of appreciable value—that the instrument "might be regarded as transferring to the United States title to the land;" but he added that at the time he was not authorized or prepared to accept an absolute title in fee-simple, not knowing how far the United States Government desired to proceed in the matter.

It is worth noting that two years before Mr. Goward pronounced his opinion, Mr. Bayard, at the Samoan conference held in Washington, had drawn special attention to the fact that, though the United States, with a great ocean front on the Pacific, was the first power to enter into a treaty with the Samoans, it had not acquired a single foot of land in that region, adding: "Our treaty antedates the rest and there was in it no special privilege of any kind. There was a cession . . . of the harbor of Pago-Pago, which remains now as it was at the time it was ceded."

In later years we find the United States eager to purchase portions of the very land to which most foreigners and many Americans believed the republic possessed unquestioned title. On January 19, 1891, Consul-General Sewall reported from Apia that, pursuant to instruc-

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tions, he had secured for his Government, a piece of land from its owners, three chiefs, on the south side of the harbor, known as Goat Island, or "Nun," the price paid being $214.29. At the same time Mr. Sewall stated that he proposed to take a surveyor to Pago-Pago, preliminary to the purchase of Swimming Point; and he recommended the immediate acquisition of the properties of the Polynesian Land Company and of all other land with a shore frontage within the limits of the Kimberley Survey. On March 31 following, Mr. Sewall reported the payment of $200 for Swimming Point, and by the next mail forwarded surveys of other lands, the purchase of which he advised. Six months later Mr. Blacklock, the Vice-Consul General, sent to Washington for ratification a deed, relating presumably to one of these sites, "for the location of a station for naval and other supplies." On June 22, 1892, Mr. Blacklock reported the purchase for $1,750 of the "Nathan mortgage," or "Sherwood claim," and expressed the hope that before the next mail left he would have secured another piece of land then leased to the United States Government by a Mr. Krause.

From a communication written on August 12, 1892, by Mr. Sewall (then staying on leave of absence at Bath, Maine) to the Department of State, it appears that considerable anxiety had been caused to himself and Mr. Blacklock by "news" published in a New Zealand journal to the effect that the English Land Commissioner, Mr. Haggard, had proceeded to Pago-Pago and selected, on behalf of his government, a place suitable for a coaling station. Mr. Sewall referred to several circumstances which, he believed, lent color to the belief that the mission was not self-authorized, and expressed the opinion that the activity was connected with the proposed "all red" cable-line. He alluded to the debate in the second session of the fiftieth Congress on the question of American rights and the value put upon them, and remarked that "throughout this discussion our rights at Pago-Pago were interpreted to be exclusive." Finally, he wrote:

> "In pursuance of the appropriation of $100,000 made 'for the survey, improvement, and occupation of the bay and harbor of Pago-Pago,' we have bought every title, native and foreign, to Goat Island and to the shore extending to and behind Swimming Point. . . This is the most valuable land in the harbor, but forms only a small part of the site selected by Admiral Kimberley, and is entirely insignificant in comparison with what will be needed for our station and the occupation of the harbor, as contemplated by the action of Congress. It is respectfully submitted that any attempt by any foreign power to find lodgment now at Pago-Pago would be in derogation of our rights there."

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However, on January 2 following, having in the meantime received further instructions from Washington, Mr. Blacklock was enabled to report, that fuller inquiry had proved that the British Government had taken no steps to acquire land in the Pago-Pago harbor; and a month later he wrote that Capt. Whiting, of the United States war vessel "Alliance," had

"made careful observations regarding the different points in the harbor which it would be well for our Government to own. And as soon as there is any hope of being able to get any options from the right natives," he continued, "I will attend to it. There are three points he mentions for strategic purposes; viz., Breaker Point and Blunt Point, at the entrance of the harbor, then a point above the French Mission property, directly opposite the entrance. With these three points the harbor would be completely under our command. Then for coaling site there is a space directly opposite our present station which could be made available and should be purchased to keep any one else out."

Early in April, Mr. Blacklock proceeded to Pago-Pago, where civil war was then raging, and obtained two signed options for portions of Breaker and Blunt Points. Reporting this to his Government, he stated that it would be difficult to secure the property of the French Mission. But, with reference to the place owned by Mrs. Pike, opposite the United States coaling station, he remarked that, though the lady had on two occasions refused to entertain British offers, she was willing enough to sell to the American Government. "I am quite sure," he added, "that, when the trouble is over in Tutuila and the natives return to their homes, I could procure all the native lands within the Kimberley Survey, also most of the foreign claims, as well as any other points around the bay which the Government might wish to secure." In the following month the Vice-Consul again wrote to Washington, urging the purchase of the property previously mentioned; and in February, 1894, he forwarded a cipher cablegram, followed by a despatch, stating that the British Consul was endeavoring to secure the land owned by Mrs. Pike.

All these despatches, with others which could be quoted, show that some such arrangement as that recently arrived at was necessary to place on record, beyond question of doubt, America's exclusive rights in the harbor of Pago-Pago. They certainly show that heretofore these rights were much less important and far-reaching than was commonly supposed. In this connection, I may be pardoned a final quotation, from the report, dated Washington, February 3, 1895, of Mr. W. L. Chambers, then United States Land Commissioner, and until recently Chief-Justice of Samoa:

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"The claims and titles of our Government to Pago-Pago lots have been confirmed by the Supreme Court (of Samoa), but they are by no means as valuable property or rights as the American public would seem to think. In fact, our possessions as confirmed constitute only a small portion of the land surrounding the bay, and, in the opinion of competent authorities, it is believed that by far the most valuable part of the shore has never been acquired by us. . . If our rights are really of value, it would be well for our Government to look further into the situation and acquire such additional rights as will make those now possessed of actual use, . . but it would seem that before further investments are made and further rights acquired the advisability of such action should be thoroughly considered."

Tutuila is, in many respects, the most beautiful of the Samoan isles; though casual visitors often come away without that impression, owing to the frequent, almost continuous rains, in the neighborhood of Pago-Pago Bay, which have a tendency to curtail excursions. It lies thirty-eight miles from Upolu, and is the third of the Samoan Islands in size; being seventeen miles long, five miles wide, and sixty miles in circumference. Its outline is bold and picturesque, and presents striking evidence of volcanic origin. The island is almost cut in twain by the waters of Pago-Pago Bay; and the entire eastern portion, nearly two-thirds of its area, is a chain of well-wooded mountains, with an average height of 1,000 feet, diversified by massive cones of uplifted lava, intersected by valleys and ravines, and often extending almost to the sea. Except for the cocoa-nuts upon the shore-line, this portion of Tutuila can have little or no commercial value.

The western portion, however, though it has the same volcanic appearance, has greater width of area, broader valleys, and higher mountains. Of the latter Matafu is the most lofty peak, with a height of 2,350 feet above the sea-level. From it one descends southward to an undulating plain of considerable fertility, some 25,000 acres in extent. This tract is, for the most part, forest land, broken by occasional waterways; and the soil is comparatively rich, producing most of the fruits and vegetables indigenous to the group. Beyond this, to the westward, mountains again prevail; though the country about Leone, in the extreme southwest, is the richest and most populated section of the island. In Leone Bay, also, there is fair anchorage; and in the settlement around it several traders of Apia have agencies. The total superficial area of the island is 240 square miles, inhabited by about 3,000 people.

The entrance to Pago-Pago Bay, between Breaker Point on the east and Tower Rock on the west, is three-quarters of a mile in width, with soundings of thirty-six fathoms. Within it, a mile and a half

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from Tower Rock, and connected with the west bank by a coral reef, is Goat Island, two acres in extent; and this marks the entrance to the inner bay. The latter is surrounded by lofty hills, which neutralize the influences of the trade-winds and render it secure from hurricanes. At various points along the narrow shore are native villages and cocoa-nut groves; and low down on the hillsides breadfruit, bananas, oranges, taro, and yams grow in sufficient quantity to provide for the scanty population. Fish is fairly abundant in the bay; and a sufficiency of fresh water is usually found in the small rivulets at the mouths of the mountain ravines.

Much has been written, from time to time, and especially during the past year, concerning the strategic value of Pago-Pago, and the accommodation for shipping which might be provided within the bay. Some of the American naval men who may be said to have introduced the question into the sphere of practical politics evinced a certain tendency to overestimate the importance of the position; and the effect of this was seen for many years, first, in the imitative or contrary tactics of civilian writers (many of whom had never been within miles of the South Pacific); and, secondly, in the probably wise disinclination of successive administrations to countenance any move in the direction of materializing the national rights, which might, in the language of Secretary Gresham, add to "the expenses, the responsibilities, and the entanglements of the Union." Still there can be no doubt of the intrinsic importance of the harbor and of its priceless value in the future.

In the spring of last year a contract was concluded between the Navy Department and a San Francisco firm for the construction at Swimming Point, in the inner bay, of a steel wharf and coaling station; and early in June a party of engineers and skilled mechanics arrived in Tutuila for the purpose of commencing operations. The officer in charge of the work was Lieut. F. Chambers, U.S.N., assisted by two other engineers; while the mechanics were under the direct supervision of Mr. R. Tibbetts, a member of the contracting firm. Partly owing to the late arrival of some of the machinery, lumber, and stores, and partly on account of unforeseen difficulties in levelling and preparing the site, comparatively little progress had been made in the construction of the wharf at the time I left Samoa; but it is very probable that the contract is near completion. The plans provided for a wharf between four and five hundred feet long and forty feet wide, with an approach of almost equal length; and the estimated cost was $250,000.

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Off the southeastern coast of Tutuila, and separated therefrom by a deep channel, lies the small island of Annu. This has an area of about ten square miles and a population of between two and three hundred; and it is chiefly remarkable for the alleged immunity of its inhabitants from the scourge of elephantiasis, to which the natives of the other Samoan islands are more or less subject.

Thanks to their isolated position and to the unsophisticated character of their people, the islands of Manua group may claim to be almost unknown to the outer world. Of the three islands, Manua, or Tau, as it is sometimes called, is the largest, having an area of about 100 square miles; Olesaga, four miles distant to the northwest, is credited with twenty-four square miles; Ofu has barely ten. All are of volcanic origin, and mountainous; but the soil is so rich that each appears clothed with vegetation to the highest summit.

Upon Manua grows the largest cocoa-nut in the world. Indeed, a single green nut sometimes furnishes nearly half a gallon of water. The inhabitants of the group number about 1,400. They maintain little or no connection with the Samoans proper, and have for many years religiously abstained from participation in the politics of their more quarrelsome and sophisticated kinsmen. At Tau, the principal village, the occasional trader from Apia is received with more or less ceremony by Tui-Manua, the hereditary high chief or king of the islands, who exercises over his people a kindly, and not unpopular, sway. According to Col. Steinberger, Manua was the original home of Mauga, the chief from whom Capt. Meade received the first Pago-Pago concession. Eighty miles east of Tau, and, therefore, 150 miles distant from Tutuila, is Rose Island, a coral lagoon, uninhabited, and of no value. It is generally considered as belonging to the Samoan group, but apparently for no better reason than that no other group cares to lay claim to it.

Such, briefly stated, are the leading features of interest in connection with the possessions conveyed to the United States by the treaty which cancels, and takes the place of, the ill-omened Act of Berlin. Americans have certainly no cause to complain of disregard of their "legitimate interests," referred to in the preamble of the treaty. Germany and Great Britain renounce, in favor of the United States, all their "rights"—a convenient expression which should not be too closely analyzed—"over the island of Tutuila and the other islands of the Samoan group east of 170 degrees east of Greenwich." Thus America's title to Pago-Pago is fully recognized; and the republic

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enters into undisputed possession of more than her original claim. As regards the future—of course, always excepting Pago-Pago Bay—she will, in my opinion, display wisdom if she contents herself with the merest shadow of sovereignty. The people of the Manua group might well be left, without any sacrifice on the part of America, to their own devices; and but a small display of authority is required to convince the now happily unarmed Tutuilans that their true interests will be best served by cheerful acquiescence in the new rule destined for them.

JOHN GEORGE LEIGH.

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MR. STEPHEN PHILLIPS'S PLAY.

It is now some years since Mr. Traill informed the unsuspecting public that there were half a hundred or more authentic minor poets striving to catch the British ear with notes that would have seemed surprisingly true and sweet a century before. Any one at all familiar with the past and present of American literature knows that a similar phenomenon has been for some time observable in this country. Moreover, in both countries, this increase in the number of fairly good writers is to be noted in the field of prose as well as in that of verse. The most obvious explanation of what seems at first thought a remarkably encouraging state of affairs is probably to be found in the fact that, with the greater diffusion of education, especially of training in the use of the vernacular, and with the growth of population, more and more men and women have deliberately set to work to make themselves proficient in the art of writing, and have succeeded. The increased self-consciousness and desire for fame on the part of the present generation must also be taken into account; and, as in the case of all similar phenomena, we must suppose that our obvious explanation does not cover every element of the problem.

But our discovery that we have a host of meritorious minor poets has not in the least diminished our ardor to discover great ones; in fact, it seems rather to have whetted it. Ever since Tennyson and Browning were known to be passing from the scene of their great achievements, our British friends have been endeavoring to keep Mr. Swinburne from feeling lonely by finding him a worthy compeer; and we have been doing the same thing in this country since the death of Lowell—only to a less degree, since we have always had our search for the "Great American Novel" to keep our spirits up. In England, Mr. William Watson was pushed aloft to an eminence which must have seemed unsafe to a person of his distinctly critical cast of mind. Mr. Rudyard Kipling, on the strength of his "Recessional" and other performances in verse, was also, and is still, widely hailed as a denizen of the highest ridges of Parnassus. When Mr. Francis Thompson emerged sufficiently from his absorption in the seventeenth century

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to address the nineteenth, he, too, speedily gathered his votaries. Of late, however—to make the list short even at the risk of slighting our native poets, some of whom deserve more praise than usually comes to those who stand and wait—the hopes of the faithful, who believe with Matthew Arnold that "the future of poetry is immense," have centred almost unhesitatingly upon the young poet whose verses won, in 1897, the premium of a hundred guineas offered by the proprietors of "The Academy," Mr. Stephen Phillips.

In view of the two volumes now finding thousands of readers, and of the verses that have recently appeared in periodicals, it seems safe to say that, even if the praise of the reviewers has been pitched a trifle high, devotees of poetry have not erred in relying on Mr. Phillips. He may not have given sure promise of being some day a major poet; but if he were to be taken from the scene of his triumphs, or were to become an ascetic enemy of the art he now serves, he would doubtless leave behind him not merely a pleasant memory tinged with regret, but also a small body of poetry that would attract fit readers, though few, and that would furnish anthologists with many exquisite fragments. For it is as certain as anything in the domain of literary judgments can be, that Mr. Phillips is both a born and a trained poet. He has the technique of his art as thoroughly in hand as any living English poet, save only Mr. Swinburne. His mastery of rhythm and diction is remarkable; he shows at least no lack of originality; he has imagination and fancy; he is self-critical and tactful to a high degree, or, in other words, possesses great artistic restraint; and he has an unusual sense for beauty. In addition, he evidently has high ambitions, is determined to give nothing a chance to interfere with his chosen art. In short, he takes himself seriously. It is, therefore, no wonder that thousands of people are taking him seriously.

And yet his poems, hailed though they were by the reviewers with a unanimity of praise that makes us rub our eyes and wonder if we really are still in the century of the early revilers of Byron and Keats and Tennyson and Browning, left a few questions as to Mr. Phillips's poetical capacity to be answered by his subsequent work. Did he have intellectual strength and range sufficient to make his poetry a true "criticism of life"? Did he have the wisdom of the "vates," the bard? Did he have the flexibility and spontaneity requisite to the production of masterly work, and did he have, or was he likely to have, the copiousness needed by the major poet? Did he have the fiery energy or the calm majesty which seems to differentiate the no-

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table poets of the past? In fine, would he one day show the world that truth and goodness were as component parts of his poetic creed as beauty; would his verse prove an inspiration as well as a delight? These were some of the questions that must have confronted a few of the readers of the "Poems" when they took up "Paolo and Francesca."

Nor were they impertinent or unfair questions. Mr. Phillips's *début* had been so successful, so provocative of high hopes, that some such questions were almost instinctive; and they were surely a compliment to him. Besides, his admirers had celebrated his achievements in such high strains, that the suspicions of persons devoted to poetry as well as friendly to Mr. Phillips were necessarily aroused. When an English newspaper of standing spoke of "Marpessa," not as a charming modern rendering of a classical myth that recalled Tennyson, but as having "an almost Shakespearian tenderness and beauty," one naturally felt a little startled. When "Literature" declared that the writers whom he makes one "think of range up to Milton," one inevitably examined his blank verse—and found him "sealed of the tribe" of—Tennyson. When Mr. Churton Collins discovered a "Dantesque intensity and vividness" in "The Wife," one wondered whether the Florentine, if he were alive and writing at the end of the nineteenth century, would find "the grand style" a superfluity, or would mistake gruesomeness with a touch of decadence for solemn, purifying awfulness. Not that any capable reader could have remained oblivious to the power and loveliness of the poems thus bepraised! The rather obtrusive modernity of some passages in "Marpessa" scarcely marred the effects of its beauty and subtle charm. No recollection of Tennyson could make one ungrateful for the exquisite cadences, or the perfect diction, of such verses as

> "When the long day that glideth without cloud,
> The summer day, was at her blue deep hour
> Of lilies musical with busy bliss"—

or

> "But if thou'lt live with me, then shalt thou bide
> In mere felicity above the world,
> In peace alive and moving, where to stir
> Is ecstasy, and thrilling is repose"—

or, again,

> "Thy face remembered is from other worlds,
> It has been died for, though I know not when,
> It has been sung of, though I know not where.
> It has the strangeness of the luring West,
> And of sad sea-horizons."

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For such poetry one can scarcely be too grateful ; while for the lines

> "All Asia at my feet spread out
> In indolent magnificence of bloom!"

it is surely permissible to feel positive rapture.

Yet, while niggardliness of praise would be unfair to Mr. Phillips, it would be equally unfair to him to assure him that he has achieved Shakespearian charm or Miltonic grandeur. He has done nothing of the sort ; he has not even shaken himself clear of Tennyson. His blank verse is admirable; his single lines and passages are often marvels of beauty; but, although we have rarely, or perhaps never of late, seen these things in such profusion save in his poetry, we have been recognizing them growing like flowers far and wide ever since the dominating poet of the last half of this century scattered the "seed," about which he once wrote in a tone of semi-serious complaint.

This is not, of course, to deny that Mr. Phillips's "Poems" showed originality and genuine power. "Christ in Hades" was a performance of haunting strength that promised much. The lines "To Milton,—Blind" were worthy of their subject, and will doubtless take a permanent place in that inspiring section of poetry that includes the tributes paid by poets to their predecessors in the art. "The Woman with the Dead Soul," "The Wife," "The Question," if their themes and treatment showed that their author had been affected by latter-day love of morbidity, proved at least by their power that the virility of his genius had not been undermined. The decadent tone of other poems that need not be named raised apprehensions ; the comparative absence of lyrics of marked excellence suggested a possible thinness of vein. But when the worst had been said, when even such minute blemishes as "split" infinitives and strained epithets had been duly noted, one thought of the great and rare, positive excellences, and closed the book with gratitude ; asking one's self whether the future would prove that we once more had a great poet using our noble English tongue.

The publication of "Paolo and Francesca" has, for many readers, answered this question in the affirmative. Although the play has not yet been performed, it has seemed to most of the reviewers that the faith exhibited by Mr. George Alexander when he commissioned the young poet to write a tragedy for him has been abundantly rewarded. Mr. Phillips has shown his genius, according to his admirers, by his ambition, his artistic sincerity, his devotion to beauty and truth. He

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has actually written a noble poem on a theme that Dante seemed to have preëmpted, on a great and moving subject that had lured other poets to conspicuous failures. If the public does not like the drama—and an American critic, forgetting, as we shall soon see, the success of Boker's "Francesca da Rimini," thinks that being based on illicit love the play cannot prosper—then so much the worse for the public; and in any event we have a great poem to mark the end of the century.

Nor is it only the professional reviewers that have been lavish in their praises. So competent a critic, and so busy a man, as Mr. Sidney Colvin has felt impelled to contribute to "The Nineteenth Century"[1] a long and most flattering article devoted to the play, in which he gives a sketch of its historical setting, which all interested readers should consult, and summarily sets aside other poets of the century who may be in a sense regarded as Mr. Phillips's rivals: Leigh Hunt, Silvio Pellico, and George H. Boker. With regard to the Englishman and the Italian there is no need to question Mr. Colvin's verdict; but he might conceivably have been better informed about the American playwright. To a cultivated critic reading it in his closet, Boker's "Francesca da Rimini" may be "ingenious, wordy, sometimes almost witty, always too trivial for the theme, occasionally approaching the poetical, never the intense or impassioned;" but the history of the drama shows plainly that the closet critic ought to be very careful with regard to his statements about the success of an acted play. Mr. Colvin dismisses Boker's drama with the remark that he believes "that when the late Mr. Lawrence Barrett once attempted to produce the piece on the stage, it had, as from the nature of the case one would have foreseen, no success." As a matter of fact, after Mr. Barrett had revived "Francesca da Rimini" in Philadelphia in 1882, he took it to New York in 1883, where it ran for nine weeks at the Star Theatre. It was subsequently, as we learn on good authority, his mainstay for about two years in the chief cities of this country.

This may seem at first thought to be a trivial detail, but in reality it is fundamental. Mr. Colvin and the rest of the critics have been predicting the success of Mr. Phillips's play upon the stage, apparently on the assumption that the acting qualities of a drama can be discovered from a careful perusal of it. But after reading another drama and drawing inferences from "the nature of the case," Mr. Colvin, as we have just seen, inferred its failure, oblivious of the fact that he could easily have ascertained that, when revived, it had, all

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things considered, a conspicuous success. If his judgment failed him so completely in the one case why should it not fail him in the other?

But it is not so much Mr. Colvin that is at fault as it is the methods of criticism literary men are so prone to adopt with regard to dramas. To appreciate the poetical power and charm of "Paolo and Francesca" is one thing; to estimate its adaptability to the stage is quite another. To be sure, actors and managers have to attempt such estimates; but they know very well how egregiously their judgments are liable to go astray. If mere reading or careful criticism according to rules and conventions, or even emendation and reshaping after elaborate rehearsals, could enable dramatic authors or critics to be fairly sure that a play would succeed, should we not be spared the spectacle of seeing the conscientious works of veteran dramatists unceremoniously damned?

The moral of these remarks is plain. We must content ourselves with attempting to appreciate the poetical value of Mr. Phillips's tragedy, and to describe what appear to be its salient dramatic features. In the latter task we shall be helped, perhaps, by an occasional comparison with Boker's successful play on the same theme; but the inferences drawn from such comparisons must be purely tentative. This may seem to be a cautious, unenthusiastic, even ungenerous procedure; yet we may be sure that, though we were each and all of us literary dictators like Dr. Johnson, our prudence would do Mr. Phillips no harm. His admiring critics may help his play over the first few nights; but they will be powerless to help it when the third or even the second week begins—when the pit will be filled with people who never read reviews; to whom Dante is a mere name; for whom Francesca is not a heroine crowned with a halo of "piercing pathos" and enrapturing romance, but a strange woman in whose fate they are to be made interested.

It can scarcely be doubted that "Paolo and Francesca" will increase Mr. Phillips's reputation as a poet. The charm and beauty of his work have suffered no diminution; his cadences are as delightful and his diction as perfect as ever. We still encounter exquisite passages and single lines that linger in the memory. His art has apparently lost nothing in point of finish; and the fact that it has been exercised upon a larger scale than ever before counts as a distinct gain for the poet. He has also proved his capacity to deal in a moving way, so far as readers are concerned, with a theme superior in passionate and pa-

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thetic interest to any that he has previously treated. He has shown power in handling a few characters ; and, whether or not he has succeeded in writing a play that is satisfying as a whole, he has assuredly composed several scenes of remarkable beauty and strength. How far his work, viewed merely as literature, is above what even more distinguished poets have been content to give us in the shape of tragedies in verse may be determined by a comparison of "Paolo and Francesca" with Mr. Swinburne's recently published "Rosamund." If we had nothing but these two performances to compare, it would probably be Mr. Phillips that would be standing in glorious isolation as a great poet—not Mr. Swinburne, whose play, whatever its merits of plot, has little of his pristine poetic splendor and charm.

It must, however, be said in fairness that, delightful as is Mr. Phillips's command of diction and rhythm, it is by no means certain that his style is entirely suitable to dramatic poetry. His blank verse seems fitter for narrative purposes. It is too uniformly decasyllabic, is made up too often of short words, thus failing to swell and roll like many of Shakespeare's and Milton's lines, and tends to fall into periods that are too brief and that end too frequently at the close of a verse. Such delicately modulated verse with its accompanying careful diction reminds us of the fact that Tennyson is more to Mr. Phillips than the Elizabethans. But Tennyson's style was not well adapted to bringing out individual peculiarities of character—was essentially non-dramatic—and it seems as if our poet might have found a better model. Even the far from artistic verse of Boker's play is probably more effective for actual delivery than Mr. Phillips's smooth and polished lines. Yet gratitude is certainly due to the poet who can give us such appealing passages as can be culled without difficulty from this tragedy. How beautiful, for example, is this description of the young Francesca !

> "She hath but wondered up at the white clouds ;
> Hath just spread out her hands to the warm sun ;
> Hath heard but gentle words and cloister sounds."

And her own lines about herself, even if they seem to be *fin de siècle*, rather than mediæval, are equally satisfying :

> "What is it to be sad ?
> Nothing hath grieved me yet but ancient woes,
> Sea-perils, or some long-ago farewell,
> Or the last sunset cry of wounded kings."

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Nor are strong verses wanting. Take, for example, these lines from one of Lucrezia's speeches :

> "It is such souls as mine that go to swell
> The childless cavern cry of the barren sea"—

or these from Paolo's passionate outburst in the fourth act :

> "Us, then, whose only pain can be to part,
> How wilt Thou punish ? For what ecstasy
> Together to be blown about the globe !
> What rapture in perpetual fire to burn
> Together !—where we are is endless fire.
> There centuries shall in a moment pass,
> And all the cycles in one hour elapse !
> Still, still together even when faints Thy sun,
> And past our souls Thy stars like ashes fall,
> How wilt Thou punish us who cannot part ?"

But we have, perhaps, said enough about Mr. Phillips's poetic powers; and, with the remark that there may still be some doubt as to whether he has yet shown the intellectual strength and moral depth of the major poet, we may pass to a brief description of his drama. It is a tragedy of few characters, and thus lacks the movement and complexity that make a play of Shakespeare's seem like a segment of the living world. Giovanni Malatesta, Tyrant of Rimini, and Paolo, his brother ; Francesca da Rimini, Giovanni's bride, and daughter of Guido da Polenta, Tyrant of Ravenna ; and Lucrezia degl' Onesti, a cousin of Giovanni's, are the principal personages. The first act opens with Giovanni's reception of Francesca, who has been brought from Ravenna by Paolo. She is but a tender girl whose tears rise as her elderly, deformed wooer presses her hands in his rude warrior's clutch. When Giovanni goes out on business of state, she turns to the handsome younger brother, as a plant turns to the sun. He realizes the danger of the situation, and wishes to set forth at once on a military expedition ; but Francesca unwittingly beseeches him to stay, as does later Giovanni, who will not allow him to be absent from the marriage ceremony and feast.

But if Giovanni is at first unsuspecting he is soon stirred to a vague sense of danger by the worldly wisdom of Lucrezia—a neither superfluous, nor yet entirely necessary, character created by Mr. Phillips —who warns him of the risks an old man runs in taking a child-wife. Lucrezia herself is childless, and has brooded upon her condition until

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she has become a fit prophetess of woe. Her place is soon taken, however, by Giovanni's blind nurse, Angela, who, through her gift of second sight, darkly reveals to him the dreadful fate that overhangs him. After this revelation, which some critics have pronounced worthy of Æschylus, but which may, perhaps, fail to appeal to an audience not under the spell of Mrs. Piper, the first act ends with a stately marriage procession.

It is by this time quite easy to see that Mr. Phillips will adhere in the main to the Greek type of drama. Little attempt will be made to reproduce the bustle and complexity and involved plot of the Elizabethan play. Destiny presides over the fortunes of the three principal personages ; and the spectator knows almost from the start what their terrible fate is to be. This insures us a dignified tragedy, and one not unlikely, considering Mr. Phillips's poetical powers, to appeal strongly to readers ; but its effect upon an audience unused to such severe art is quite problematical. Mr. Boker, on the other hand, in his "Francesca da Rimini," frankly imitated the Elizabethans. He developed a larger number of characters, stressed the intrigues leading up to the marriage, and made Francesca a woman capable of choosing her own fate. He gave her an excuse for her conduct by following the version of the sad story, which represents her as having been deceived by her father with regard to the personal appearance of her intended husband. She marries the hunchback warrior in order to save her father and Ravenna, but she knows that she is adding another link to the chain of fraud. Thus one deceit leads to another, and the end is a fearful crime and its expiation.

The moral is, therefore, far more obvious than it can be when Destiny is represented as pushing a weak, sweet girl into sin and shame ; and Anglo-Saxon audiences like the moral import of a tragedy to be plain. They like bustle and movement also, and the bloodshed that has been urged as an objection to Boker's play. In other words, they do not, as a rule, care for restrained art of the Greek type. But perhaps Mr. Phillips and the critics will be able to educate their taste.

The second act opens, after the lapse of a week, with a conversation between Giovanni and Paolo, in which the former discusses with the latter the revelation of the blind nurse ; the scene being naturally marked by dramatic irony. Francesca comes in "from fostering garden flowers," and business calls Giovanni out. Thus, the two victims of Destiny are left alone to have a talk that is full of subtle touches.

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Paolo is still strong enough to tear himself away, and Francesca is left to ask her maid,

> "Can any tell
> How sorrow first doth come? Is there a step,
> A light step, or a dreamy drip of oars?
> Is there a stirring of leaves, or ruffle of wings?
> For it seems to me that softly, without hand,
> Surely she touches me."

On his reëntry sorrow touches Giovanni by no means so lightly. When he is left alone with Lucrezia, their talk turns, as would be expected, to the doom impending; and she quite inevitably leads him to see that it is his own beloved brother that threatens his domestic peace. He swoons at the thought, but, on recovering consciousness, bethinks him that there are "drugs to charm the hearts of women," so necessary has Francesca's love become to him. The whole scene ought to be quite effective in the hands of trained actors; and it contains at least two verses which it is scarcely an exaggeration to describe as almost Shakespearian,

> "O barren, restless woman, at what sight
> Do you give cry at last?"

There is a strength, a *timbre* in these lines that is rare in modern poetry.

The scene now changes to a wayside inn just beyond Rimini, and the Greek type of drama is for a while abandoned. There is quite an Elizabethan charm in the brisk talk of the soldiers and girls bidding one another farewell. Like a true artist, Mr. Phillips uses prose until, at the end of the scene, he makes Paolo, after a pathetic struggle with his fatal passion, determine, in beautiful verses, that in suicide alone can he find a certain escape. The situation seems to be admirably handled, and the act closes with cadences that are nothing short of lovely:

> "Under some potion gently will I die;
> And they that find me dead shall lay me down
> Beautiful as a sleeper at her feet."

The third act continues the recurrence to the Elizabethan type of play—beginning, as it does, with what is in many respects the most interesting situation in the drama. We are introduced to the drug-shop of Pulci, in which his pretty daughter is selling philters to frail girls. After they have gone and Pulci has sent Tessa off to bed, Giovanni enters masked, and obtains from the old apothecary a

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drug that "will purchase some infatuate days." Just as he is going a knock is heard, and Giovanni almost frightens to death the guilty vendor of poisons and philters by unmasking and demanding to be hidden. Pulci has time to get him behind the arras before unbarring the door. Naturally, the stranger who enters is none other than Paolo, come to get the poison that shall set him free. Pulci, in order to give Giovanni an opportunity to gather information about the clandestine doings of his subjects, tries to draw Paolo out; and the latter, feeling secure against recognition, and being resolved speedily to die, has no hesitation in declaring that he wishes to take poison as the best means of avoiding the commission of the worst of crimes against the brother who loves and trusts him. He departs with the poison. Pulci follows to see that he does not die too close to the shop. Giovanni, his suspicions now made certainties, is yet almost prompted to rush out and save Paolo, but desists, feeling that death alone can straighten out the coil that fate has made, and glad with a "dread relief" that he himself will be clear of his brother's blood.

It must be plain, even from this imperfect description, that we have here a scene of marked power; and—what is specially to be noted—it appears to be entirely of Mr. Phillips's own invention. There is seemingly nothing so effective in Boker's play, and if the attention of spectators can be held throughout the rest of the drama, as it ought with good acting to be held here, this new tragedy should be a success. But the next scene carries us back again to the Greek stage upon which Destiny stalks as protagonist. Paolo cannot bring himself to die without another sight of Francesca, and makes his way into the castle garden. Here couriers, after much search, encounter the just entering Giovanni, who, on hearing of the sudden revolt of the citizens of Pesaro, determines to set out forthwith against them, late though it be.

The scene now changes to an arbor in the garden, whither, just at dawn, Francesca, who has passed a sleepless night, repairs with a book, her maid Nita following with a lamp. After a charming colloquy she dismisses Nita, and, reading, begins to "melt into an ancient woe"—that, of course, of Launcelot and Guinevere—when Paolo enters. The scene that follows is too beautiful for treatment in prose, and sends one back for comparison, not to Boker's play, but to Dante's immortal passage. And yet, after all, Boker's bringing his lovers to the arbor in broad day, during the husband's ab-

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sence, and making Paolo the reader with a purpose, is, perhaps, more natural and dramatically effective than Mr. Phillips's handling of the crucial situation. There is something factitious about this reading at dawn and the timely or untimely turning up of the would-be suicide. And does not the character of Paolo become unpleasantly weak, with the effect of detracting from the sympathy with which we witness the bestowal of the historic and fatal kiss? However this may be, the poetry of the scene deserves almost the highest praise. Could anything well be more exquisite than these lines?

PAO. So still it is that we might almost hear
The sigh of all the sleepers in the world.
FRANC. And all the rivers running to the sea.

The fourth act opens in the late evening of the second day after Giovanni's departure. Giovanni returns, learns from Lucrezia that Paolo is not dead, and prepares to entrap the lovers. Francesca, still the trembling, fate-driven girl, is afraid to be left alone, and entreats Lucrezia to be a mother to her. The childless woman flames into a sudden, maternal passion for the victim of her own plot with Giovanni, and rushes off to find and restrain him. The situation is tense and strong, but can hardly be called natural. Lucrezia's adoption of Francesca has not been led up to sufficiently, and it would seem that exceptional acting will be required to carry it off. Still, the exaggerated passion of the elder woman, and the perhaps exaggerated timidity of the no longer inexperienced Francesca, may appeal to an end-of-the-century audience better than Boker's more natural delineation of his heroine as a strong woman determined to enjoy her passion, and to abide its consequences, would do.

We must, however, hasten to the close. Lucrezia leaves Francesca to the frail guardianship of Nita, who has a lover of her own. Paolo tries to enter, but is repulsed. Then Francesca, the beauty of whose speeches can scarcely atone for her appalling lack of strength, weakens, and Nita yields place to Paolo. He enters with a speech too dreamy for the situation; and we are once more ravished by poetry as beautiful as any that has been given us since Tennyson was in his prime. Then, passion supervening upon charm, the lovers leave the stage; and if the spectator is as highly impressed as the reader, Mr. Phillips's friends will be satisfied. Nita now enters, and after her Lucrezia, who asks eager questions as to Francesca's whereabouts, fearing the worst. Suddenly Giovanni, whom Lucrezia has not found, so

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skilfully has he hidden himself, parts the curtains and appears. He sends Nita to prepare her mistress for bed, and confronts Lucrezia. She takes his hand, and he exclaims, "'Tis not my blood!" Then, cutting short her outcry, he calls in his retainers. The guilty pair, whom he has surprised and murdered, "shall be married before all men." When the servants come, he gives directions as to the disposal of the corpses; after which blind Angela, the nurse, appropriately enters, the fatal doom she vaguely foretold having now worked itself out. The lovers are brought in upon a litter, over which Lucrezia and Giovanni pour out in short speeches their unquenchable agony. The play thus closes in true Greek style, and with these moving words from the husband's lips:

> "She takes away my strength.
> I did not know the dead could have such hair.
> Hide them. They look like children fast asleep!"

Children? Have we here, in the weakness of the central characters, the weak note of the play? Perhaps so, since drama depends upon struggle, and children do not struggle sufficiently. But, perhaps, on the other hand, the audiences of London, New York, Paris, and Vienna, who, we are assured, will soon see this play, will be quite satisfied with the struggle made against Destiny by these old-time lovers, and, yielding to the spell of Mr. Phillips's artistic treatment of his theme, will award him palms that surely no one would be envious enough to grudge. Let us hope that this will be the case; and if any of us still has doubts whether our author has yet given us work that is more than charming and fairly strong, let us put such doubts aside, and rejoice in the many excellences of a poet whose serious devotion to his noble art is worthy of all sympathy and of the warmest praise.

W. P. TRENT.

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